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# THE COMMUNION SERVICE IN THE REFORMED CHURCHES IN SWITZERLAND, FRANCE, AND SCOTLAND IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Teresa Jane Leasor

Submitted in partial fulfillment for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, School of Education of New York University

1968

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Jane Leasor

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June 19, 1968

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An Abstract of

# THE COMMUNION SERVICE IN THE REFORMED CHURCHES IN SWITZERLAND, FRANCE, AND SCOTLAND IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Jane Leasor

Lee A. Belford

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An historical study of the Reformation period which traces the development of the service of Holy Communion in the Protestant churches in Switzerland, France, and Scotland, that is, those which most directly were molded by the teaching of John Calvin. The sacrament is described in terms of its sources, the theology which required new forms of worship, and the liturgical order which evolved as the Protestant movement in the Reformed tradition asserted itself on the Continent and in Britain.

Introductory to the study are brief chapters which place it in historic sequence, one a survey of the Eucharist from the Early Church to the Reformation, and the other a background study of the life of John Calvin and the political, intellectual, and social nature of the period in which he lived.

A separate chapter is devoted to John Knox and the Reformed Church in Scotland. Knox's work was influenced by Calvin, but the Scottish church bore the marks of the independent mind and character of its founder and its early history, particularly pertaining to the place of the Holy Communion, is developed independently.

The significance of the Eucharist in Calvinist Protestantism is viewed in relation to Roman Catholic tradition in an

attempt to discover their distance from or proximity to each other in the sixteenth century. The study was designed in order to give some basis for comparison between the Reformation era and events of the present century which are serving to bring Roman Catholicism and Protestantism into a closer relationship than has been experienced since the separation created by the Reform movement in the West.

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RUTH SIBLEY GADE

# INTRODUCTION

This study has been undertaken as an effort to establish a basis of comparison and contrast between the events which in the twentieth century are leading in many ways toward a degree of oneness in Christendom, and the cataclysm of the Reform in the sixteenth century which inevitably led to disunity. The separation is on the mend, and it is thought that a view of the past may give understanding for the future.

The comparison and contrast are not spelled out but are rather implicit in the tracing of one aspect of the church's life and worship as established by the Reform under John Calvin and John Knox, that of the service of Holy Communion.

On first glance it may seem that the various chapters have no particular bearing on each other; but the pattern established is intended to indicate the development of the Reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper, its place in the service of worship, and the manner in which it was administered. It is limited geographically to the areas most directly adhering to Calvin's teaching, and includes Knox because of the quite direct influence of Calvin on Knox's thought.

The first two chapters do not purport to be defini-

tive, but are included in order to place the central ideas in time and circumstance, first in terms of the development of Christian worship over the centuries, particularly in regard to the eucharist; and then the more immediate social, political, and intellectual climate of Calvin's century.

It is clearly impossible to extract the relatively small area of concern which is central to the intention of this research, that is, the Holy Communion in Calvinian teaching and practice, without placing it in the larger context of worship. There is thus contained in Chapters III, IV, and V a substantial amount of material dealing with general historical development in the ecclesiastical world of that century, as well as the necessary background of study in the changes occurring in ritual and liturgy.

The study has afforded the writer a great deal of enjoyment along with the expenditure of the usual amount of blood, sweat, and tears.

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## CHAPTER I

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND DEVELOPMENT

In an article in the Anglican Theological Review, Cyril Richardson states his conviction that the genuine truth of the liturgy (Anglican) can be recovered by seeing that both Catholic and Protestant emphases are partly in error and partly true to both Scripture and tradition, and that both have to be set within a better understanding of sacrifice.[1] While the concern of this research is with Reformed worship, it is still necessary to place the attitudes of the reformers in that segment of the movements of the sixteenth century alongside the liturgical traditions of Catholicism and their use in that era.

In origin, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was one of a transformed eschatology, thus placing the Christian in the presence of the eternal, supernatural order in the Kingdom of God. Eating bread and drinking wine are concrete bits of ordinary life in the world, but become the means of access to the other world.[2]

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[1] "The Eucharistic Sacrifice." American Theological Review. Vol. XXXII, No. 1, January, 1950.

[2] Christian Worship. Members of Mansfield College. Edited by Nathaniel Micklem. London: Oxford University Press, 1936, p. 79.

## The Apostolic Church

The Gospels and St. Paul's Epistles contain the earliest record of the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Patterns and customs indicated by these New Testament writers had an even earlier precedent in the Jewish family meals, from which the Christian sacrament derived, particularly in the Jerusalem church.

The early Christians met together in the homes of adherents for the "breaking of bread" accompanied by common prayers; they were at the same time still attending public worship in the Temple.[3] This common meal must be distinguished from the observance of the Last Supper, since its essential element was the communal breaking of bread with thanksgiving and blessing, and not having to do with a remembrance of the crucifixion.[4] A similar type of worship is seen again in Hippolytus' agape meal and in the Didache.

The celebration of the Lord's Supper as a sacrament emphasizing the crucifixion and the "incorporation of the individual into Christ" came with the teachings of St. Paul.[5] By the time the New Testament had been completed

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[3] Ibid., p. 68.

[4] Yngve Brilioth. Eucharistic Faith and Practice. London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1961, p. 6.

[5] Ibid., p. 7.

the Eucharist stood for everything Jesus meant to the disciples: his Messianic office, miracles, death and redemption.[6]

The account in St. Mark's Gospel, while it contains the Words of the Institution, is not dependent on St. Paul's writings and, therefore, must reflect traditions of the Jerusalem church in its earliest days, celebrating either the Passover or the Kiddush, more likely the latter.[7]

## The Early Church

It may be true that the early Christians were quite mindful of the double character of their observance in somewhat the same manner that Jesus at the Last Supper presided over a common meal which was regularly practiced in Judaism, and at the same time performed it as a symbolic action preparatory to his death. The Christian rite in its early forms can have been 1) the continuation of the common meal of the Apostolic circle, with the emphasis on fellowship and unity as they had learned it in Jewish practice, and 2) a repetition of the Last Supper, with the emphasis

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[6]Dom Gregory Dix. The Shape of the Liturgy. London: Dacre Press, 1945, p. 4.

[7]Brilioth. op. cit., pp. 9, 10.

on the death of Christ.[8] Dom Gregory Dix says that there was no fixed interpretation of the Eucharist in the Apostolic age, but a rapidly growing experience by individuals and churches.[9] From the beginning it stood "at the center of the stream of spiritual life . . . ."[10]

The term "Eucharist," from the Greek, was used from the beginning and is found in the New Testament as early as the narrative of the feeding of the five thousand. The word means "to bless" and was in equally proper use for the communal meal of thanksgiving and the latter rite commemorating the Last Supper and the crucifixion. By the second century the word becomes the name for the rite, but emphasizing the connotation of thanksgiving more strongly than that of blessing. St. Justin Martyr used the word for thanksgiving over offered gifts and for the regular Sunday service, as well as for the sacrament. From the third century the Greek Fathers used it only in relation to the eucharistic prayer or the elements themselves.

The Didache, a second century manual which contained the teaching of the Apostles (there is no evidence of Pauline teaching), contains prayers for a eucharistic meal, or the Christian form of the Jewish common meal, and forms of

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[8] Ibid., p. 12. [9] Dix. op. cit., p. 6.

[10] Ibid., p. 13.

prayer used in the breaking of bread in the Sunday service. The two had thus become separate forms, but both evidently were in use in Christian worship.[11]

The Sunday service consisted of the introductory blessing of the Cup and the Bread, the meal, and the thanksgiving. It is here that the use of "Hosanna" is found for the first time as a part of the rite, evidently as expectation of the Advent, or second appearance of Christ, which was still to them an imminent prospect as it had been to the disciples.

The word "cup" is used in all references to the sacrament, both in the New Testament and the Didache. Jesus' death is spoken of as his "cup."[12] The bread and wine alike are used as symbols of eternity and St. Paul writes, following St. Mark's form, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood." However, the central point in the rite is the blessing and breaking of the bread, reminiscent of the feeding of the five thousand as recorded by John.

After the early Christians had developed beyond celebrating the Eucharist at home and worshiping in the synagogue or Temple; and from that to the break with Judaism and consequent worship either in homes or in the

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[11]Christian Worship, p. 69; Brilioth, op. cit., p. 19.

[12]Christian Worship, p. 75.

open air, they began in the second century to build churches. At first these were more like household chapels, and in areas of severe persecution were located in caves or catacombs. They were oblong with a semicircular end (apse) and a porch or vestibule (narthex) used by penitents and catechumens. The body of the church often was divided by pillars into a central portion called the nave, with one aisle or more on each side.

The central place held by the Eucharist was evident in the position of the altar, a cube of wood, stone or precious metal, midway in the apse. During the celebration of the sacrament the altar was covered with a linen cloth and placed on it were the plate for the bread and the chalice for the wine.[13]

In the middle of the second century St. Justin, in a statement about baptism, wrote the following:

> After we have baptized him and . . . after finishing the prayers, we greet each other with a kiss. Then bread and a cup of water and wine mixed are brought to the one presiding over the brethren. He takes it, gives praise and glory to the Father of all in the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and gives thanks at length for the gifts that we were worthy to receive from Him. When he has finished the prayers and thanksgiving, the whole congregation standing by cries out in agreement: "Amen." . . . After the presiding official has said thanks and the people have joined in, the deacons, as they are styled by us, distribute as food for

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[13]Oscar Hardman. A History of Christian Worship. Nashville, Tennessee: Cokesbury Press, 1937, pp. 18, 19.

> all those present, the bread and the wine-and-water mixed, over which the thanks had been offered, and also set some apart for those not present.[14]

Later St. Justin writes that the food of the Lord's Supper is known as the Eucharist and that no one may partake unless he is convinced of the truth of Christian teaching and has been baptized.[15]

It is in the mid-second century that the essential form of the Roman Mass appears. It is again St. Justin who describes it:

> And on that day which is called after the sun, all who are in the towns and in the country gather together for a communal celebration. And then the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the Prophets are read, as long as time permits. After the reader has finished his task, the one presiding gives an address, urgently admonishing his hearers to practice these beautiful teachings in their lives. Then all stand up together and recite prayers. After the end of the prayers, as has already been remarked above, the bread and wine mixed with water are brought, and the president offers up prayers and thanksgivings . . . . The people chime in with an Amen. Then takes place the distribution, to all attending, of the things over which the thanksgiving had been spoken, and the deacons bring a portion to the absent. Besides, those who are well-to-do give whatever they will. What is gathered is deposited with the one presiding, who therewith helps orphans and widows . . . .[16]

The Eucharist early expressed a strong sense of thanksgiving, discovered in part through such a description

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[14]Quoted in Joseph A. Jungmann. The Mass of the Roman Rite. New York: Benziger Brothers, Inc., 1950, p. 22.

[15]Ibid., p. 23. [16]Loc. cit.

as St. Justin's. St. Irenaeus wrote later, "The token of our gratitude to God is the Bread which we call Eucharist," and St. Clement of Alexandria, more poetically, "The offering of the Church consists in a prayer in which all our thoughts, given once to God, are wrapped up along with the offering."[17]

One of the oldest texts of the Eucharist is that of Hippolytus of Rome. This is one of the earliest expressions of the sacrificial character of the meal. Because the gifts of bread and wine were recognized as symbols of the offering of the heart to God, the step to developing the ceremony into an oblation to God was simple and quite direct. But it is the broader idea of offering that is used in the liturgy, not that of sacrifice in the sense of destroying or changing a gift.[18]

There is no fixed formulary for the Mass-liturgy in the West by this time, but only a framework which is filled in by the celebrant. "The prayer texts were . . . still elastic and continually subject to new influences."[19] But in the liturgy as a whole there was a unified order and a network of still flexible regulations which had the authoritative stamp of custom. Existing regulations had to do

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[17] Ibid., pp. 25, 26. [18] Ibid., p. 27.

[19] Ibid., p. 32.

with the structure of churches, the time and manner of service, beginnings and endings of prayers, so that the fundamental design of the Eucharist was everywhere the same and fitted into the indigenous order of any country.

During the first three centuries only the Old Testament was used; most worship was improvised by leaders; original hymns were sung.[20] But there were certain essential formulae with doxologies and prayers, and after three hundred years of the independent existence of widely separated Christian churches, the outline of the rite was everywhere remarkably the same, and the content of the eucharistic prayer the same in content and in the use of certain phrases.[21]

Until the Edict of Milan in 313, in which Constantine granted religious toleration, the church's worship "was offered by communities of Christians who lived dangerously but joyously, liable to acts of mob violence or authorized persecution."[22]

Their new liberty brought new stages of development. The earlier freedom in worship gave place to liturgical books which prescribed actual forms for services, while the

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[20]Hardman. op. cit., p. 20.

[21]Dix. op. cit., p. 5.

[22]Hardman. op. cit., p. 13.

first manuals--the Didache (ca. 100), Apostolic Traditions of Hippolytus (217), Didascalia (250), and the Apostolic Church Order (300)--had given assistance by suggestion.

The pre-Nicene churches conceived of themselves as a unity. They would have received the rite of the eucharist and the manner of performing it at the time of evangelization. They had therefore a living tradition of the liturgy as the heart of corporate life which went back to the roots of every apostolic church.[23]

## Post-Nicene Era

Until 500 A. D. worship in the West was going through fluid stages which would emerge in the sixth century as fixed forms.[24] Knowledge of the period is quite sketchy, but two principal types are known to have been concurrently in use: the Roman in the Eternal City and probably in North Africa as well; and the Gallic in Milan and north beyond the Alps.

The Gallic included various forms, usually considered to be four: 1) the Ambrosian, centered in Milan; 2) the Mozarabic, an ancient Visigothic rite used by those

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[23]Dix. op. cit., p. 6.

[24]William D. Maxwell. An Outline of Christian Worship. London: Oxford University Press, 1936, p. 45.

who had been "arabized" in Spain (still in use in Toledo); 3) the Celtic, Latin formularies used in Scotland and Ireland as late as the eleventh century; and 4) the Gallican liturgy, used in the Frankish domain through the period of Charlemagne, when it was deliberately replaced by the Roman rite.[25]

The origin of these Gallic forms is obscure and explanations for them are numerous. Benedictine scholars are convinced that it was the westernization of the Roman rite; Anglicans tend more to place them originally in the East, particularly in Ephesus; and the modern scholar Jungmann suggests its source in Milan, rival to Rome in the fourth century, seat of the imperial residences, and center of ecclesiastical affairs in the West.[26]

The Roman rite is described as being terse, simple, carefully contrived, and stylized; while the Gallican was full of enthusiasm and exuberance, elaborate, symbolic, and dramatic. One acquainted with the characteristics of both Eastern Mediterranean habits and manner of expression, and with Western ways as well, would be convinced that the Gallic rites could not have had their origins anywhere but

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[25]Bard Thompson. Liturgies of the Western Church. Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1962, pp. 27, 28.

[26]Ibid., p. 29.

in the East and that the Roman rite would have been an expression of Western reserve and tendency toward dignity and order.

Following is a form representative of the Gallican liturgy in use by the late seventh century:

Antiphon (Ingressa at Milan)
Bishop's greeting (Dominus sit semper vobiscum)
Three canticles: Trisagion, Kyrie, Benedictus
Bishop's prayer
Three lessons: Old Testament, Epistles or Acts, Gospels (Before the Gospel: Gloria tibi Domine and after it the Trisagion was repeated)
Homily by bishop or priest
Church-prayer in form of a litany
Solemn procession preceding the Mass: Eucharistic gifts brought to the altar and veiled. Choir chanted the Sonus during the procession
Opening address (praefatio missae). Meaning of the Eucharist rehearsed
Collect
Diptychs
Kiss of peace
Preface
Sanctus
Post-Sanctus
Words of Institution
Prayer: anamnesis and epiclesis
Fraction (bread arranged on altar in cruciform), accompanied by antiphonal chant
Pater Noster
Benediction

Chiefly to be understood here is that the Church was a growing, developing, questing organism, seeking the means whereby adequate expression could be given to faith and commitment, and interlocking and exchanging forms and rites as the spread and strengthening of the church was continuing.

These were years when papal power was rising and foundations were being laid for the structure that would not too far hence be the decisive force among western nations.

From 325 A. D. until 500 medieval characteristics began to appear; the church's life was marked by the friendship of the state, after generations of hostility and persecution, or indifference at best; a loss of proximity and therefore direct likeness to the apostolic age; a series of church councils which would more accurately formulate Christian doctrine.[27]

Writers of the fourth and fifth centuries refer to the eucharist as the means whereby Christians receive the body and blood of Christ, and it was administered in both kinds. In some places deacons were administering the sacraments, sometimes both the bread and the chalice, and sometimes one or the other. The involvement of deacons in the administration of the sacrament was regarded as an abuse and the Council of Nicaea recorded: "It is contrary to the canons and to custom for those who have not authority to offer to give the body of Christ to those who worship."[28]

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[27]Darwell Stone. A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. Vol. I. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1909, p. 55.

[28]Ibid., pp. 58, 59.

St. Athanasius wrote: "Our sanctuaries . . . are clean, adorned only with the blood of Christ and the worship of him. It is only to you who preside over the Catholic Church that it pertains to administer the blood of Christ and to no other."

St. Leo the Great in a sermon said, "Ye ought so to partake at the Holy Table as to have no doubt at all concerning the reality of the body and blood of Christ;" and in a letter to the people of Constantinople: " . . . In that distribution of spiritual nourishment such a gift is bestowed, such a gift is taken, that receiving the virtue of the heavenly food we pass into the flesh of him who became our flesh."

Others, such as Eusebius of Caesarea, the noted historian of that era, wrote of the elements of the eucharist as a memorial or as "symbols of his body and his saving blood;" St. Cyril of Jerusalem calls them a figure; and St. Gregory of Nazianzus refers to the "antitypes of the precious body and blood." St. Augustine, to whom the reformers of the sixteenth century owed many of their attitudes, wrote of the "sign of his body" and the "figure of his body and blood."

And to this understanding of the elements Macarius Magnes responds, "It is not a figure of the body and . . . the Blood . . . but really the body and blood of Christ."

St. Ambrose places the "chief emphasis on the eucharistic consecration as a supernatural reality which transcends nature."[29]

There were, then, early evidences of disagreement about the eucharist, and while there were several interpretations and various shades of meaning within and among the interpretations, the basic difference was contained in the question of the nature of the elements: were they or were they not the body and blood of Christ, and if they were, when and how did they become so? The question has a familiar ring; it has been asked and argued for twenty centuries.

Further discussions centered on whether or not the eucharist was an offering or sacrifice to God. Cyril Richardson states the position that the early Christian sense of sacrifice was not centered in destruction but comprehended three themes around which the liturgy developed: offering, destruction, and new life, a universal theme in ancient sacrifice. Without destruction there is no communion, and without communion destruction does not find its proper climax. Richardson goes on to say that later the medieval Mass would stop short of communion by emphasizing the altar and the Protestant service would foreshorten the

Lord's Supper by emphasizing only the table.[30]

Development in the West

There is virtually nothing known of the beginnings of the Latin Mass in Rome. The oldest documents are the work of Frankish scribes in the eighth and ninth centuries, and they are almost identical to present usage. How the earlier freedom within a scheme, of which Hippolytus wrote, converged into a solid rigidity of form is not known with any clarity.[31]

The liturgy of Rome doubtless originated in the Eternal City but likely with outside influences.

It would have been translated from Greek to Latin, and the development of the formularies would have been a gradual process, but the framework must have been essentially determined by the turn of the fifth century, at least as far as the priest's prescribed prayers are concerned. A few modifications were made by Gregory the Great, most of them a return to older and simpler forms.

The fifth and sixth centuries were tragic for Rome, with threats and invasions on all sides, but it was in this

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[30]Cyril C. Richardson. "The Eucharistic Sacrifice," Anglican Theological Review, Vol. 32, No. 1, January, 1950.

[31]Jungmann. op. cit., p. 49.

period that Roman Catholic worship developed and the papacy became the one pride of the Roman population. The pope became the only support of the city and the papal church service the chief expression of civic life.[32]

The establishment of the doctrine and resulting practice and form of the eucharist seems to have been stabilized to some degree by the early sixth century since from that time through much of the eighth century few writers made reference to it.[33]

St. Gregory (Pope Gregory the Great) speaks of it as a sacrifice, but in terms that Darwell Stone interprets as a "mysterious presentation to the Father of the passion and death and risen and ascended life of the incarnate Son."[34] He links it also with the offering that Christians make of themselves, thus relating the need for acceptable conduct with the need for receiving communion. At the same time Gregory presents the Lord's Supper as an act of reverence and worship.

Others, such as the Venerable Bede in England and Alcuin in Northumbria, wrote expressing views similar to those of Gregory. But none wrote exclusively concerning the Mass; references in almost every case are of a passing

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[32] Ibid., p. 59. [33] Stone. op. cit., p. 193.

[34] Ibid., p. 195.

nature and contained in passages emphasizing some other aspect of the church's teaching.

There had been fully developed by this time the concept of miracle in the Mass which transforms the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ so that the communicant does in fact eat his body and drink his blood. This is the main fact to be noted in the history of the doctrine of the eucharist from the sixth century on.[35]

It is Dix who states that the liturgy of the fifth and sixth centuries is not a rite in the present sense of that word. The liturgy was essentially the same everywhere and contained the elemental structure, but each church developed its own traditions which were revised and augmented, sometimes locally, sometimes borrowed from other churches. It is thus often impossible to trace the source of every part of the liturgy, Roman or Gallican.[36]

Early Middle Ages

St. Isidore of Seville (560-636) taught that the eucharist is a sacrifice, and that by consecration the elements become the body and blood of Christ--the whole Christ in both species, the bread and the wine. The Venerable

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[35] Ibid., p. 192.

[36] Dix. op. cit., p. 550.

Bede (673-735)--scholar, author, and considered to be the father of English history--describes communion as the "reception of the body and blood of our Lord," a sacrifice and an offering, while St. Germain of Paris said that it was offered in commemoration of the passion of Christ.

Amalarius of Metz (d. 850), Bishop of Trèves, devised an elaborate interpreation in which the life, death, resurrection and ascension were symbolized in the various aspects of the eucharist--a "series of acts in which the church made its recollection and commemoration before God of the whole incarnate life of Christ."[37] He interpreted spiritually Christ's words concerning eating his body and drinking his blood (John 6:53), so that the import of the statement had to do with personal salvation. But he still believed that the elements of the eucharist by consecration were made to be the body and blood of Christ.

Amalarius was attacked for his views, particularly by Florus of Lyons, because of his apparent assertions that the body of Christ is threefold: the body born of Mary; the body that walked on earth (the church militant); and the body that was buried (departed Christians). His analogy in the eucharist was that the offering in the cup and the bread which is eaten are Christ risen, and that which re-

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[37]Stone. op. cit., p. 210.

mains on the altar, Christ buried. This had overtones of Jewish thought and was condemned.[38]

Paschasius Radbert (d. 865) was a monk and later abbot of the Abbey of Corbey. His treatise titled On the Lord's Body and Blood emphasized the spiritual character of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, preserving this element in St. Augustine's teaching. He regards the Eucharist as a sacrifice through which the church offers gifts and prayers, these being uplifted to heaven as they are made to be the body and blood of Christ by consecration. They are presented on the altar of the body of Christ, offered by Christ as his own sacrifice, and given back to the communicants as supernatural food.

Radbert had opponents, of course, who felt that his view indicated more spiritual than actual presence, and there were many who held that the bread and wine became by consecration--and through miracle--the body and blood of Christ in a real and actual sense. But it was Radbert's view that was still held in the West by the 11th century.

Berangar of Tours (b. ca. 1000), director of the Cathedral School of Tours, was known as an independent and original thinker. He developed views regarding the Eucharist that led to a more acute controversy than any that had

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[38] Ibid., pp. 210-216.

come forward before. There is record that several of his former fellow students asked him to deny his views on the eucharist which would seem to make the bread and wine unchanged in nature and essence. They maintained the accepted the view that if the presence of Christ in the elements is only a creation of the mind of the receiver, and in the body and blood are found only in power and effect, then the eucharist would lose its distinctiveness, particularly as related to the other sacraments. Berangar's answer was ambiguous; he referred to the teachings of John the Scot as being his views (based on Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine, he added--a stellar group) but precisely who John the Scot was is not clear. It may have been Duns Scotus Erigena.

Berangar--and John the Scot--were condemned in 1050 at a council in Paris summoned by Henry I of France, who imprisoned him for a time. Earlier that year he had been condemned at a council at Brionne called by William of Normandy (later William I of England) where he assented to the accepted views of the doctrine. Four years later, in the presence of Hildebrande, he denied having said that the bread of the altar does not differ from ordinary bread and asserted his belief that after consecration the elements are the body and the blood. In 1059, at a council in Rome (Pope Nicolas II), Berangar burned his writings and made a

further public statement that the accepted views of the church were his views as well.

Despite his statements, there were several treatises written during the eleventh century to refute Berangar's earlier views. Lanfranc's and Durand's are the best known of these continuing refuters of Berangar. Both affirmed the spiritual change of the elements at the consecration and the reality of the presence of body and blood through the work of God the Holy Spirit.

Current thought at the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth is represented by St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1093 to 1109. He refers to the eucharist as the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ and in his Prayers describes the consecration as being effected by the descent of the Holy Spirit on the offerings.[39]

In 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council (Innocent III) issued the following statement concerning the eucharist:

> There is one universal Church of the faithful, outside which no one at all is in a state of salvation (salvatur). In this Church Jesus Christ Himself is both priest and sacrifice; and His body and blood are really contained in the Sacrament of the altar under the species of bread and wine, the bread being transubstantiated into the body and the wine into the blood by the power of God, so that, to effect the mystery of the

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[39] Ibid., pp. 261, 262.

> unity, we ourselves receive of that which is His what He Himself received of that which is ours. And, moreover, no one can consecrate this Sacrament except a priest who has been duly ordained according to the keys of the Church, which Jesus Christ himself gave to the apostles and their successors."[40]

From this stage of development to the era of the Reformation there were no major inroads which altered the then-established patterns of worship and celebration of the sacraments in the Western Church. There were, of course, those who were known as pre-Reformation leaders who paved the way for Luther, Calvin, Zwingli, Knox, and the men who more immediately influenced these prime movers. Such were Hus in Bohemia, Wycliffe in England, and Waldo in Italy and southern France.

The reformers found in Romanism sacramental practices which they regarded as contrary to their understanding of scripture and the traditions of the Early Church. Acting in accord with their religious conscience and historic sense, they moved away from the Roman Mass toward a sacramental position which reflected their changing theological views. The story of one segment of this movement is contained in the following chapters.

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[40]Hardouin. Concilia. vii. 15-18.

## CHAPTER II

## THE LIFE AND TIMES OF CALVIN

Perhaps it has always been everywhere the best and worst of times, and Charles Dickens was the one who found the phrase for it. Such was the sixteenth century in France. In order to place the specific area of inquiry in its setting, following is a brief account of the life of Calvin and the political and social circumstances in which the sharp clashes of the ecclesiastical world in this Reformation century occurred.

France, the country of Calvin's birth and early years and education, was called by one of its poets "sweet France" because it was successful and desirable. Climate was mild and the soil productive; more people paid more taxes than in any other state in Europe; industry was successful. Yet the sixteenth century in France was named the "cruel century" by historian Herbert H. Rowen.[1]

France's people were a single, dominant culture, though they were ethnically as conglomerate as the rest of Europe. Earlier than their neighbors they had formed a single civilization and used a common literary language,

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[1]Herbert H. Rowen. A History of Early Modern Europe. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1960, p. 163.

but with at least a score of dialects.

By the early sixteenth century the monarchy in France had come to be a princely government with the king maintaining almost complete personal control, a sovereign whose rights extended everywhere in the realm. The rule was, "The will of the prince has the force of law." Gone were the days when a ruler was little more than a feudal overlord, one among somewhat lesser overlords who formed baronial courts in their own jurisdictions.[2]

Observers agreed that the "King of France is more of a prince in his own realm than any other prince in Christendom."[3]

To read most accounts of ecclesiastical developments in the sixteenth century is to be left with the impression that nothing was happening other than events in the church. But while the reformers were struggling to establish what they regarded as truth, Francis I and his court were making merry.

Francis suffered military losses in Italy and Spain that were bitter disappointments to him. In fact, his thirty-two year reign was "a succession of unfortunate wars . . . and diplomatic failures. Nevertheless his reign pre-

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[2]Stone. op. cit., p. 166.

[3]Ibid. p. 167.

serves its reputation as a brilliant epoch in the history of France--a reputation due to the character and tastes of the king, and to all he did for the cause of art and letters."[4]

Francis was impressive, regal, a man of pleasure. His court, always elegantly dressed, seemed to be in a state of perpetual enjoyment, and the King lent to it all a character of stateliness, richness, and elegance. Women were constantly on display and Francis enjoyed their company. He had a retinue of servants that numbered into the hundreds, all of them well provided for, but at a staggering cost to the state. He built castles almost as if they were toys, moved frequently from one residence to another, or set up camp when he wanted to hunt. And after the first three years of his reign the deficit in the budget was already 1,261,203 pounds.

While this would seem to lead to decadence, both in the court and the entire state, Francis at the same time exerted influence in the fields of art and letters. He encouraged--and supported--poets, as well as writers of stories and novels, and was particularly interested in the development of learning and everything related to the exercise of the intellect. Guillaume Budé, Lefèvre, Toussaint,

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[4]Pierre Battifol. History of the Roman Breviary. London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1912, pp. 86-98.

Estiennes, Vatable, Postel--all were scholars in more than one field and the king had sufficient interest in their work to establish the Royal Library, which developed into the Bibliothèque Nationale, still in existence.[5]

Francis I was an autocrat of the first order and was obeyed instantly, "as man is by beasts," as the Emperor Maximilian said of him. Government was largely his own personal affair. He secured from Pope Leo X the rights which made the Gallican church a national church within the Roman communion, with the king at its head. Thus when the Reformation emerged in France the monarchy was committed to Catholicism.

Early reformers, such as Lefèvre and Briçonnet, the Bishop of Meaux, were regarded as humanists and given the same protection and support as other scholars. This attitude was encouraged by the king's sister, Marguerite of Navarre, who accepted the ideas of the reform and was also a patroness of arts and letters. But by 1529, with the first popular uprising against the clergy and the rich, in Lyons, Francis began to lose his attitude of moderation, and by 1543, four years before the end of his reign, active repression of the reformers, known by then as heretics, was in full cry. But attempt at their destruction had not yet

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[5] Ibid., pp. 103-105.

begun.

This, then, was the life of the French court and the nature of French government during the years that John Calvin was growing up and receiving his education.

John Calvin

John Calvin was born in 1509 in the cathedral city of Noyon and spent all of his younger days in the protecting shadow of the church (common to most educated men of his day), in terms of his family's relationship to the cathedral and his years of preparation for the priesthood.[6]

He was the son of Gerard Cauvin, apostolic secretary to the Bishop of Noyon, Charles de Hangest. The father served also as attorney and notary for the cathedral chapter. His mother was Jeanne Lefranc, the daughter of a successful innkeeper of Cambrai, who had retired in Noyon. She died when Calvin was three, and there is little reference to her except that she was remembered as a woman of beauty and piety. Calvin's father remarried, but nothing is known of the stepmother who reared Calvin and his two brothers and two sisters.[7]

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[6]Philip Schaff. History of the Christian Church. Vol. VII. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892, p. 298.

[7]John T. McNeill. History and Character of Calvinism. New York: Oxford University Press, 1954, pp. 93, 94.

Before Gèrard Cauvin was excommunicated, possibly on suspicion of heresy, he had secured from the church an education and benefices for his sons, which meant at least a small income which would have been theirs for life. He was an ambitious man, and had become a person of some authority after he came to Noyon from his family home at Pont l'Evêque, where his ancestors were boatmen, to seek advance in position and income.[8]

One of the earlier influences in Calvin's thinking was Olivetan, a cousin who became Protestant several years before Calvin openly expressed his views.

Thus there is a trend in Calvin's own family toward an anti-papal attitude even before the Reformation was under way in any definite form.

## Education

The early education of Calvin was received while he lived with the family of Mommor (sometimes incorrectly spelled Montmor). It was in this family of nobility that he developed the refinement and aristocratic air which later distinguished him from some of the other reformers who had rougher ways.[9] He made rapid progress; the scholarly aptitude which was always a part of the way he lived

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[8] Loc. cit. [9] Schaff. op. cit., p. 300.

was apparent in his earliest student days. It was more than aptitude; he was almost universally thought of as brilliant, whatever else may have been said about him.

At the age of twelve, in accord with widespread custom at that time, Calvin was appointed to a chaplaincy in the cathedral at Noyon. This provided a modest income and required no services in return.

In 1523, when he was fourteen, he registered at the Collège de la Marche of the University of Paris under the Latinized form of his name, Joannes Calvinus, thus eventually becoming known as Calvin rather than Cauvin, the family name. Grammar and rhetoric were taught by Cordier, who represented the rising humanism of that era at its best.[10] The sense of style and diction that Calvin learned from Cordier marks all of his writings and was quite clearly a strong influence in making Calvin's use of French a standard of excellence in that language even up to the modern period. Cordier later became director of the Collège de Genève.

From Paris Calvin went to the Collège de Montaigue where he studied philosophy and theology, presumably because he intended to go into the priesthood. He was known by his fellows to be studious, conscientious and religious;

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[10]McNeill. op. cit., p. 95.

and he was called "the Accusative" because of his censoriousness.[11]

Montaigue was attended by such notables as Erasmus and Rabelais and had a reputation for gravity and asceticism. It maintained an emphasis on dialectic and vocal argumentation which again was important for Calvin in view of his later spheres of activity. Erasmus wrote of its stale eggs and stale theology. Calvin was apparently little bothered by the food, because he devoured books instead, and was known for sleeping but little, a pattern which continued throughout his life. It was here, too, that problems with his health began, and those problems remained his constant companions.[12]

Calvin has been described as living apart from other people and having much more interest in ideas than personal relationships. This judgment may have some measure of truth, but in fairness it must be remembered that Calvin kept the friends he made and enjoyed a good relationship with them. He remained in close contact with the de Hangest families, relatives of the bishop of Noyon, with whom he had studied in Paris; he was close to his cousin, Olivetan; while he was still a student he was a frequent

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[11]Schaff. op. cit., p. 302.

[12]McNeill. op. cit., pp. 98, 99.

and welcome guest in the homes of several well known scholars; Budi, the Hellenist, and Nicholas Cop, the mediaeval scholar. His friends were mostly older, mostly intellectuals. What was evidently true was that he was not attracted to intellectual mediocrity.

At eighteen, Calvin received the charge of St. Martin de Marteville, which he later exchanged for that of Pont l'Eveque. This he kept until he left France to go to Geneva.[13]

When he was just past eighteen, in 1528, he received the M. A. degree and was commanded by his father to change to the study of law. Reasons for the father's request, which was obeyed, can only be guessed at. The elder Calvin had begun to have difficulties with the church at Noyon and may have thought that this son should be prepared for a lucrative profession in case the benefices were withdrawn.

Thus Calvin went to Orleans, where the faculty of law was held in highest regard.[14] While he complied with his father's wish, he did not approve of it; but he was incapable of doing a poor piece of work, even when it was not to his liking. He studied at Orleans with de l'Etoile, who

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[13] Ibid., p. 95.

[14] Ibid., pp. 101-102.

was also a biblical humanist; lived in the house of Nicholas Duchemin, the law scholar; and knew Wolmar, with whom he studied Greek. He was known as a rising young legal scholar.

He, along with Wolmar and Duchemin, went from Orleans to Bourges to study with Alciate of Milan, brought to France by Marguerite d'Angoulême. But Calvin's real interests at this time were language, literature and the cultures of antiquity.

By 1532 Calvin had completed his doctorate in law, but his involvement in the legal profession was a brief engagement as annual deputy of the proctor for the nation of Picardy (Picard students) at the University of Orleans.[15]

His first publication was also in 1532, the Commentary on Seneca's Two Books on Clemency. His references for authority were Cicero and Aristotle, not scripture; he was writing for the humanist public, not making a plea for the toleration of Protestants as has been thought by some. This was the first of Calvin's commentaries and the only one not written about a portion of scripture. It was a large undertaking for a man of twenty-two, and the method he used in his subsequent writings was the same as that used here. It shows a broad understanding of the classics

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[15] Ibid., p. 104.

and of patristic literature in both Latin and Greek. But it was a bitter disappointment to Calvin that it was not read.

Philip Schaff suggests that while Calvin's legal training may have been extremely valuable to him as administrator of the church--and community--at Geneva, it may have increased his legalism and strong dependence on logical demonstration.[16] This may be to misunderstand the legal profession, and because he wrote so little of himself, the student of Calvin is often left to what he hopes is a logical conclusion from the facts that are known.

## Conversion

Like Melanchthon and Zwingli, Calvin began as a humanist and then made the culture of the Renaissance contributory to the ideas of the Reformation.[17] In one of the few references to himself Calvin wrote of his conversion in the preface of his Commentary on the Psalms: "God himself produced the change. He instantly subdued my heart to obedience." He mentions no human agent nor the circumstances under which it occurred. A man of his ability and sensitivity would have been well aware of the religious

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[16]Schaff. op. cit., p. 306.

[17]Ibid., p. 309.

questions that were being discussed during his student years. He had lived in the home of the Waldensian, Etienne de la Forge, a vocal Protestant who was later burned at the stake,[18] and was closely associated with Wolmar, a German Lutheran whom he admired, but neither seems to have influenced him directly. It is almost certain that he had been studying the Bible closely, for his earliest writings after his conversion give evidence of his knowledge of the scriptures. McNeill believes that in writing the commentary on Seneca he may have been temporarily pushing away the religious issues that were beginnings to cause a struggle.

In 1533 Calvin's association with Nicholas Cop, rector of the University of Paris, was renewed. In that year the university rector delivered an address defending Marguerite d'Angoulême's Mirror of a Sinful Soul after the Sorbonne had attacked it. It was an attack on censors and prosecutors and obviously in support of the new point of view in religion. Calvin erroneously has been thought to have written the address, but he may well have had some relationship to the situation since he was one of those who had to flee Paris after the address was delivered on the charge of "familiarity with the rector."[19] It was not an

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[18]McNeill. op. cit., p. 109. [19]Ibid., pp. 110-112.

anti-papal point of view, and Calvin had maintained his identity with Roman Catholicism, apparently desirous of reform within the existing institution.

But in May, 1534, he went to Noyon to surrender his clerical benefices, indicating both his conversion and the conviction that reform from within through cautious methods could not succeed. It is known that Calvin was with Lefevre when Lefevre was dying and where he stated his regret that he had not done more to "confess the truth of God." This may have been instrumental in precipitating a break from the church, a break which Calvin had resisted because he had been loyal to the papacy from his childhood and had expected to participate in the life of the church, though he was never ordained.

McNeill states the following as the chief factors in the reformer's conversion: 1) the appeal of Lutheran literature, which was uncompromising; 2) contact with Etienne de la Forge; 3) the martyrdom of those who were killed for their biblical faith; 4) processions, relics, indulgences, which he would have regarded as outside of Catholic historic tradition and as malpractice and corrupt; 5) conversation with friends; and 6) study of the Bible and the Church Fathers.[20]

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[20]Ibid., p. 115.

The continuing events and circumstances of Calvin's life are contained in more or less detail in the following chapters, which will explain his teaching concerning the Holy Communion as well as his leadership in the Reform as minister in the churches in Strasbourg and Geneva.

## CHAPTER III

### THE HOLY COMMUNION IN THE TEACHINGS OF CALVIN

It has been acknowledged that John Calvin was not and did not claim to be a reformer whose overriding interest was in the area of the Eucharist. But in his century this was an issue of major concern in the church, and Calvin had views which were as definite and well defined as those of any of his fellow-reformers. He is sought out in matters of polity and doctrine, but rarely in matters of liturgy and worship. However, it is surprising and gratifying to discover how much of his writing does refer to this central act of worship which became in the sixteenth century a point of primary disputation, not only in Catholic and Protestant debate but among the various bodies within the Reformation.

The intellectual storm center of Calvin's age was the nature and significance of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and those reading what he has written on the subject are made to feel that he found it particularly difficult to form the conclusion to which his inquiries brought him. He was thoroughly persuaded that ubiquity cannot be ascribed to Christ's glorified humanity, that his body is locally present in heaven only and in no conceivable sense included in the consecrated elements of bread and wine. He

was convinced that it can be apprehended and received by faith, but he nevertheless found himself unable to agree that the Lord's Supper was a commemorative act only.[1]

Rather than battle against transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the Mass, Yngve Brilioth has attributed to Calvin a primary concern to relate himself to the two types of eucharistic practice which had already taken shape in the Reformation and to find a middle way that would satisfy both the intellectual and the religious.[2]

Calvin did not place the sacraments in the position of primary importance among all other considerations. In The Necessity of Reforming the Church he wrote:

> If it be inquired then by what things chiefly the Christian religion has a standing existence among us, and maintains its truth, it will be found that the following two not only occupy the principal place, but comprehend under them all the other parts, and consequently the whole substance of Christianity, viz., a knowledge, first of the mode in which God is duly worshipped, and secondly, of the source from which salvation is to be obtained . . . . After these come the Sacraments and the Government of the Church . . . .[3]

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[1] Reformed Christian Review, April, 1909, Ch. IV. "The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper in Calvin's System of Thought" by A. S. Weber, pp. 76, 77.

[2] Brilioth. op. cit., p. 164.

[3] John Calvin. The Necessity of Reforming the Church. Presented to the Imperial Diet at Spires, 1544. Translated by H. Beveridge. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1844. n. p.

Doctrine first, then the sacraments, then organization. But he writes of the Holy Communion: "The sacraments . . . deserve to be ranked along with the Word as true means of grace, and along with the Word of the Gospel the power of God unto salvation."[4]

In his Little Treatise on the Holy Supper of Our Lord, Calvin makes an almost gentle statement which yet lacks none of his usual definiteness, and expresses his convictions concerning the function of the sacrament:

> No one of us can find a crumb of justice in himself . . . and need no accuser than our own consciences; neither needeth it to seek for any other judge to give sentence against us.
>
> That the heavenly Father therefore might succour this our calamity, he gave unto us the supper, as a glass wherein we might behold Christ crucified . . . that our sins might be forgiven; raised again, that we, delivered from death, might be restored to the heavenly immortality . . . . The Lord's Supper directeth . . . us unto the cross and resurrection of Christ.
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> The whole strength and energy of the supper consisteth in this thing, to confirm the reconciliation of God made by the death and passion of Christ . . . that we be made just through his obedience--to print surely in our minds (the) hope of salvation.[5]

Most historians and theologians attribute to Calvin a belief that the "real presence" of Christ is found in the

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[4]Corpus Reformatorum (hereafter to be referred to as C.R.) 20:73.

[5]John Calvin. Petite traité de la Sainte Cène de Notre Seigneur, Jesus-Christ. Le Haye: Imprimerie de J. Roering, 1844, n. p. Translated by the author.

elements of bread and wine. To place some of his statements side by side would seem occasionally to point out ambiguity, but each must be viewed in the context of the situation in which the statement was written and in light of the whole work rather than to accept a part as being the sum of the whole.

Calvin writes in his Commentary on Isaiah, "In the sacraments the reality is given along with the sign."[6] He says that "the true effect is conjoined with the external sign"[7] and he elaborates: the invitation is "effectually and in reality" to communion with Christ, "for we say that the reality which the promise contains is here exhibited and that the effect is annexed to the external symbol."[8] Christ "effectually uses this instrument (the Supper) to dwell in us."[9] And in the Institutes he writes that "unless we would charge God with deceit, we will never presume to say that he holds forth an empty symbol."[10] The profound meaning of the Holy Communion to him is expressed in this question: "If he gave us only the bread and wine, leaving the spiritual reality behind, would it not be under false

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[6]C. R. 36:13. [7]C. R. 9:19.

[8]C. R. 9:68. [9]C. R. 9:77.

[10]John Calvin. Institutes of the Christian Religion (hereafter to be referred to as Institutes). 4:17:10.

colors that this ordinance had been instituted?"[11]

In his interpretation Brilioth writes that the center of Calvin's view is his grasp of the element of mystery which gives depth to the idea of communion-fellowship. "The religious focus of the eucharist is union with the continually present Savior. This he (Calvin) always feels to be something beyond his comprehension and description."[12] Brilioth does not attribute to Calvin any sympathy at all with Catholic practice, but does credit him with an acknowledgment of the real presence in the elements in that the matter and substance of the sacrament is the Lord himself. It is necessary to partake of the body and the blood for the reality in the sign. Merely to partake of Christ's spirit is not enough; "we need to partake also of his manhood, in which he showed perfect obedience to God the Father, to make amends for our fault."[13]

Ronald Wallace states something of the same position as Brilioth's but in a rather different framework: that "Calvin rejects any purely figurative interpretation of the words of institution, which might make the sacrament

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[11] Opera Selecta. 1.509.

[12] Brilioth. op. cit., p. 167.

[13] Ibid., pp. 169, 170. (Cf. Institutes, V.438; I. 507).

nothing more than empty symbolic action."[14] This is because of the conviction that Jesus was not speaking in a purely figurative way when he instituted the Supper; there is a mystery of the sacramental union indicated that lifts his language far above being legitimately called figurative without qualification.

Wallace's view is that Calvin's answer to the question as to what is given in the sacraments is the same as the answer of the Lutherans and of Rome: that the flesh of Christ is given in the sacrament, and that the controversy is not the reception of the sacrament but the mode of reception. Calvin says, "That we really feed in the Holy Supper on the flesh and blood of Christ, no otherwise than as bread and wine are the aliments of our bodies, I freely confess."[15] And in the Institutes he makes a similar statement: that the materia or substantia of the Supper is the flesh, or the body of Christ; or the materia or substantia of the sacrament is Christ with his death and resurrection.[16]

The real presence of Christ not only in the Supper but in the life of the believer is indicated by Calvin's

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[14]Ronald S. Wallace. Calvin's Doctrine of the Word and Sacrament. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1957, p. 160.

[15]C. R. 20:73. [16]Institutes. 4:17:11.

statement that the believer's communion with Christ is with his flesh and blood no less than with his Spirit, so as to possess the whole Christ.[17]

It has been noted that the word "mystery" was used by Calvin to indicate the sense of awe in which he held the sacrament, as well as his feeling that it remained beyond precise human definition or description; that it is transcendent and incapable of being boxed in by inadequate mortal speech or attitudes. Nor could it be completely understood; it is a sphere in which God operates, and we stand before a mystery which man dare not try to explain. He can only wonder.[18] Wallace uses the term "miracle" to describe Calvin's point of view.

Another statement indicating Calvin's proximity to established views is contained in the Little Treatise:

> The fruit we seek in the supper is brought to nought unless Christ be given unto us therein, as the foundation and substance of the whole matter. If we once grant this . . . then we shall grant also that there is given unto us nought else but an unprofitable and vain sacrament, if we deny that in it is given unto us the very participation of Christ.[19]

In the Treatise Calvin states some of the uses of

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[17] Opera Selecta. 1:435.

[18] Cf. Wallace. op. cit., p. 219.

[19] John Calvin. Little Treatise on the Lord's Supper. n. p.

the Supper: to be stirred to purity of life and driven to maintain charity and friendship; having been joined together with Christ there should be a resulting concord among the members of the Christian body.

Like Luther, Calvin rejected the term transubstantiation while declaring in several ways the presence of Christ in the sacrament. All of his efforts in relation to the Holy Communion were intended to draw together the divergent views of the Lutherans and Zwinglians, Calvin creating the mediating, conciliatory role between the two, hoping to draw all of Protestantism together on this central point.[20]

He could find no support in Scripture for the doctrine of transubstantiation, nor any witness of the "old congregation," he writes in the Treatise, by which one supposes he refers to the Early Church. The nature of the sacrament requires that the material bread remain for the visible sign of the body. The signs of the sacraments should have some similitude with the spiritual thing they represent. Calvin declares that transubstantiation diminishes the glory of Christ and destroys all that ought to be believed concerning his human nature. Christ took our humanity not only on earth but in heaven, and nothing must be

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[20]Calvin. Treatise. n. p.

diminished of the verity of his nature.

Transubstantiation also engenders superstitions, the Treatise continues--carnal adoration in kneeling before the bread which we were commanded to eat, not honor; and Calvin decried the carrying of the sacraments through the street once a year, or shutting it up in a case.

Brilioth accuses Calvin of disliking the Mass violently.[21] Rather it would seem that what he disliked were the abuses which kept it from being a true Mass, becoming, as Calvin put it in his Treatise, an "apish emulation and disguised masking" which he felt was a profanation of the Supper. What he regarded as the chief substance was missing: the opening of the mystery to the people.[22]

But the fact that it remained mystery to him; that without presence of Christ in the elements it is all an empty show, indicates more proximity to than distance from the Mass.

In The Necessity of Reforming the Church Calvin writes in a rather different vein:

> . . . The Holy Supper was not only corrupted by extraneous observances, but its very form was altogether changed . . . . A theatrical exhibition was got up, and substituted for the Supper. For what resemblance is

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[21]Brilioth. op. cit., p. 167.

[22]Calvin. Treatise. n. p.

there between the Mass and the true Supper of our Lord?[23]

He continues in the same passage to call the Mass rather excommunion since the priest is separated from the congregation, and takes while he is alone something which ought to be brought out and distributed. He argues also with the concept of sacrifice in the Mass. Christ's words were to take, eat and drink; how then can taking evolve into offering?[24]

In the same work Calvin quarrels with the withholding of the cup from the laity, the "muttering" over the bread, "showy ceremonies," and the lack of explanation of the meaning of the sacrament. He says that Christ rather addressed the apostles clearly at the Last Supper and that it was a public commemoration; that the secret nature of the Mass is more fit "for magical arts than for the sacraments;" and that "there is no use in the sacraments unless the thing which the sign visibly represents is explained in accordance with the word of God."[25]

The memorial aspect of the Eucharist Calvin pushed aside. To him the significance of the Holy Communion was not in regarding it as an act "in memory;" the meaning of

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[23]Calvin. The Necessity of Reforming the Church. p. 30.

[24]Loc. cit. [25]Ibid. p. 31.

the cross in history is overshadowed by its eternal significance, the fruit of which is aeterna vivificatio.[26]

He writes of the symbol of bodily eating, but gives assurance that it is not merely a symbol; the words of the Eucharist convey what they signify. There is no need to define or ferret out the manner in which the real presence comes to the communicant. What is of significance is that Christ is possessed by the believer. The matter and substance of the sacrament is Christ.[27]

Along with this, Calvin criticizes and rejects any thought of a local presence in the elements. This was to him the weak point of the medieval doctrine of the Lord's Supper. His emphasis is that the communicant must lift his heart, not bring Christ down to imprison him in matter.[28]

Calvin writes, however, that Christ "effectually uses this instrument to dwell in us."[29] Were this not so, Wallace writes, the instituting of the sacraments would be a mockery and a lie.[30]

In his Commentary on the Acts, Calvin asserts that the sacraments are not a bare figure but the giving of the

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[26]Cf. Brilioth. op. cit., p. 167.

[27]Institutes. V. 437; I. 507.

[28]Institutes. V. 542; I. 521.

[29]C. R. 9.77. [30]Wallace. op. cit., p. 159.

thing itself.[31] Their function, then, is not just to produce a healthy psychological effect, but to be the instruments of a divine action whereby what is represented is also presented. He calls the elements instruments, the means by which Christ gives to the communicant his body and blood, and they are representations at the same time.[32]

The following passage from the Institutes indicates the reverence and awe in which Calvin held the Eucharist:

> If indeed it be lawful to put the great mystery into words, a mystery which I feel and therefore freely confess that I am unable to comprehend it with my mind, so far am I from wishing anyone to measure its sublimity by my feeble capacity . . . and though the mind is more powerful in thought than the tongue in expression it is too overcome and overwhelmed by the magnitude of the subject. All that remains is to break forth in admiration of the mystery . . . .[33]

In his Treatise he writes again of mystery, that it is hard to attain to, and cannot be comprehended by wit or understood by study.[34] In the same work he enumerates some of the purposes and uses of the Lord's Supper, such as the following:

1. It should be exercised to acknowledge God's goodness to us and celebrated with honor and pride.

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[31] John Calvin. Commentary on Acts. 22:16.

[32] Cf. Wallace. op. cit., p. 159.

[33] Institutes. 4:17:7.

[34] Treatise. n. p.

2. It should maintain friendship and concord, and stir to purity of life.

The Treatise also contains strong words concerning the abuses of the Lord's Supper as Calvin saw them, particularly in the celebration of the Mass. He questions the tyranny of the Pope who limits participation in the Mass when Christ's instructions were, "Drink ye all . . . ."[35]

Calvin declared the Mass to be an "apish emulation and disguised masking," and that the Lord's Supper was only imitated; therefore the whole truth is corrupted and the ceremony is an "open profanation of the Supper." The core of the Treatise is that to Calvin the chief substance was wanting in the Mass: that the mystery of it be truly opened to the people. Another deep concern was that the doctrine of the rite had been removed in the Mass, leaving nothing but a "cold ceremony without virtue or strength."[36]

In the final section of the Treatise, Calvin calls the Mass an abominable sacrilege if it is to be considered a sacrifice whereby forgiveness may be obtained. It is here also that he denies any credence to the transubstantiation of the bread and wine. He continues that the invisible signs contain his substance that they may represent spiritual truth. He writes, "Though the Lord does give the

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[35] Ibid. [36] Loc. cit.

thing he represents, yet shall it not be sought as included under the bread or fastened locally to the visible sign."[37]

Here is found Calvin's obvious ambivalence concerning the significance of the elements. He is unwilling to accept the idea that the common elements of bread and wine can in any way become Christ's own flesh and blood. At the same time, he cannot relinquish the concept of the true presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper because without it, it would be an empty and meaningless observance.

In the Institutes he wrote:

> In the sacraments we have such a close connection between the symbol and the spiritual gift which it represents, that we can easily pass from one to the other in our speech and refer to the bread as being indeed the body of Christ . . . . Although the sign differs essentially from the thing signified . . . yet, as it not only figures the thing which it is employed to represent as a naked and empty badge, but also truly exhibits it, why should not its name be justly applied to the thing?[38]

In a succeeding section of the Institutes, Calvin wrote of the union formed between the divine and human activity in the event of God's action in the sacrament, so close as to become one of identity.

Thus, while he frequently speaks of the distinction between the action of God and our human activity in the

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[37] Treatise. n. p.

[38] Institutes. 4.17.21.

Lord's Supper[39] he is yet unwilling to say anything which will detract from its significance and the divine action and presence in it. In Wallace's interpretation of Calvin's writings he ascribes to the Reformer the view that a too liberal interpretation of the words of the institution can endagger the doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, and that the word "is" does not denote a relation of identity but is the expression of a sacramental union.[40] In the Institutes Calvin wrote, "The sacraments direct our faith to the whole, not to a part of Christ."[41] Here he refers to both the human and divine elements, or the wholeness of the gift.

This "wholeness," the presence of both the divine and human in the sacrament, Calvin calls its substance, or matter; and what is imparted through the communion he refers to variously as virtue, fruit, efficacy, effect; and the substance and the effect are to him two separate things.[42] It is in this way that he strives to avoid the impression that there is anything material conveyed in the sacrament.

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[39]Wallace. op. cit., p. 163.

[40]Ibid. p. 198.

[41]Institutes. 3.11.9.

[42]Cf. Wallace. op. cit., p. 202.

## The Sacrament as Sacrifice

Calvin is adamant in denying that in the Eucharist there is a constantly repeated sacrifice; rather he affirms that in the Lord's Supper the benefit of Christ's sacrifice is communicated.[43] "As widely as giving differs from receiving, does sacrifice differ from the sacrament of the Supper."[44] It is not an offering of bread and wine but a mutual participation of it among the communicants.[45] And in the same vein, "The Lord has given us a table at which we may feast, not an altar on which a victim may be offered: he has not consecrated priests to sacrifice, but ministers to distribute . . . ."[46]

To Calvin, the meaning of sacrifice as it related to the Eucharist was "offices of charity," by which the communicant, while he embraces his brethren, honors the Lord; "in fine, all the prayers, praises, thanksgiving and every act of worship which we return to God."[47]

While Calvin safeguards the concept of mystery in the sacrament, he carefully avoids attributing to God any miracle that is absurd or abhorrent to the moral sense or

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[43] Institutes. 4.18.3. [44] Ibid. 4.18.17.

[45] C. R. 32:105. [46] Institutes. 4.18.12.

[47] Ibid. 4.18.3. Cf. Wallace. op. cit., p. 215.

inconsistent with any other aspect of the Christian faith. He goes along with his opponents to give as literal a meaning as possible to the words of the institution and to magnify the supernatural power of God and his gracious action in the Lord's Supper. But he stops at the point of the moral and logical absurdity of the literal presence of Christ in the bread. He recalled the fact that at the Last Supper Christ sat at the table and was visible to the disciples, but certainly not visible in the bread.

Benefits of the Sacrament

The benefits of participation are considered in many references to the Lord's Supper. The following is from the Institutes:

> Christ intended the Supper to be an exhortation than which no other could urge or animate us more strongly to purity and holiness of life and also to charity, peace and concord. For the Lord then communicated his body so that he may become altogether one with us and we with him . . . . This unity is represented by the bread which is exhibited in the sacrament. As it is composed of many grains so mingled together that one cannot be distinguished from the other; so ought our minds to be cordially united as not to allow any dissension or division.[48]

In the Treatise there is this statement: "The Holy Communion is the remedy wherewith God would succour our weakness, strengthen our faith, increase our charity and

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[48] Institutes. 4.17.38.

set us forward in sanctity of life; we ought, therefore, to use it."[49]

Again in the Treatise, in the section on errors and superstitions, Calvin writes that the Lord's Supper is not a representation but a sacrifice whereby we obtain of God remission of sins. If we take any profit from the Supper we must bring to it nothing of our own, but must only receive with faith the mercy that in it is offered to us.[50]

And further in the Treatise:

> Our Lord instituted the Supper, first, in order to sign and seal in our consciences the promises contained in his gospel concerning our being made partakers of his body and blood, and to give us certainty and assurance that therin lies our true spiritual nourishment, and that having such an earnest, we may entertain a right reliance on salvation. Secondly, in order to exercise us in recognizing his great goodness toward us and thus lead us to laud and magnify him more fully. Thirdly, in order to exhort us to all holiness and innocence, inasmuch as we are members of Jesus Christ; and specially to exhort us to union and brotherly charity as we are expressly commanded.[51]

The singular consolation of the Lord's Supper, in Calvin's view, is that it directs and leads us to the cross of Jesus Christ and to his resurrection. The Holy Communion attests to our having everything that is "useful and salutary" because of partaking of the death and passion of Christ.[52]

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[49] Treatise. n. p.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid.

In a reference to the benefits of the Holy Communion in the Institutes, Calvin carefully points out what is now accepted as the classical Reformed view: that the distribution of the elements would not be of any great benefit unless they had once been given for man's redemption. The body and blood of Christ are therefore represented under bread and wine and are food for the believer's spiritual life. In the same paragraph he enjoins the reader to observe that almost the entire force of the sacrament is contained in the words, "which is given for you," "which is shed for you."[53]

Another means by which the sacrament may be beneficial is by impressing on the mind the thought that none of "the brethren" can be injured, despised, rejected, abused, or in any way offended without injuring and abusing Christ at the same time; that "we cannot love Christ without loving him in the brethren; that we ought to take the same care of our brethren's bodies as we take of our own;" and that "we ought not to allow the brother to be affected by any evil, without being touched with compassion for him. Accordingly, St. Augustine with good reason frequently calls this sacrament 'the bond of love.'"[54]

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[53] Institutes. IV.xvii.3.

[54] Ibid., IV.xviii.38.

## The Sacraments as Outward Signs

In the Corpus Reformatorum Calvin criticizes both Luther and Zwingli--Luther because he had not removed his thinking from the "old lines" to any measurable extent, and Zwingli and Oecolampadius because they failed to show "what sort of presence" of Christ in the Eucharist is to be believed, or "what sort of communion is there received."[55] Calvin always is found to be between the extremes. He insists that they are "outward signs" but is definite as to the meaning and purpose and benefit of those signs.

The Eucharist is a sign by which God seals on the conscience "the promises of his good will toward us in order to sustain the weakness of our faith . . ."[56] Or, in the words of St. Augustine, "a visible form of an invisible grace."

In the Institutes Calvin points out that what the Latins called "sacraments" the Greeks called "mysteries" and that to identify the meaning banishes all controversy. The term came to be applied to the signs which "reverently represented sublime and spiritual things."[57]

Wallace's interpretation of Calvin's meaning of the

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[55] C. R. V.458.

[56] Institutes. XIV.1.

[57] Loc. cit.

real presence is that the presence of Christ's body in the Supper is a "celestial mode of presence" and leads to no localization of the body of Christ on earth, no inclusion of it in the elements, no attachment to the elements.[58]

But it is to the church that the individual must turn to receive the grace of God which comes through the sacraments. The life of the Head of the church is received by its members through the ministry committed to the church.[59]

The sacraments are signs of salvation, Calvin says in the Institutes, and not essential to it; but there is some sense of ambivalence when in the Opera Selecta we read, "It is a perilous thing to have no certainty on an ordinance the understanding of which is so requisite to our salvation."[60] Wallace adds to the lack of clarity here when he interprets Calvin as believing that the sacraments are a necessary obligation and that God commands their use.[61]

The Institutes also reveal this statement: "The difference between me and those whose opinion I oppose is

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[58]Wallace. op. cit., p. 208.

[59]Ibid. p. 234.

[60]Opera Selecta. 1:503.

[61]Wallace. op. cit., p. 239.

this: They consider eating to be the same thing as believing, while I say that in believing we eat the flesh of Christ, and that this eating is the fruit and effect of faith." He adds, "The difference is small in words, but in the thing itself the difference is considerable."[62] Here the symbol, the sign, takes a secondary position to the spiritual meaning and significance.

One of Calvin's clearest concepts concerning the Eucharist is that its vitality and effectiveness are not in the elements themselves nor in their reception, but in what happens to the communicant after he has taken the Lord's Supper. However, it is clear that he does not wish to dispense completely with the Roman and Lutheran insistence on the presence and reception of Christ himself in the elements at the Eucharist. "In the Supper," he writes, "our communion with Christ is confirmed and increased; for, although Christ is exhibited to us both in the baptism and in the Gospel, we do not, however, receive him entire but in part only."[63] In part, yes, but nonetheless received. Or this: "Christ, though absent in the body, is nevertheless not only present with us by divine energy which is everywhere diffused, but also makes his flesh give life to

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[62] Institutes. IV.17.5.

[63] C. R. 6:126.

us."[64]

Beyond this, the Eucharist received confirms and increases the faith of believers. The power of the Lord's Supper is an incentive to the cultivation of unity and brotherly love. The Supper is above all a "feast of fellowship," its goal is to cultivate charity and concord.[65] Ironic that no subject has caused more division in Christendom.

In the Little Treatise on the Lord's Supper there is this statement: "Christ is the spiritual bread (sustenance) but because he is distributed unto us by the word of the Lord, as by the instrument appointed for the same purpose, he is named bread and wine." And in the same work, "Through the sacrament of the supper the Lord leadeth us unto the partaking of Christ . . . . We cannot understand when he is offered unto us in the bare preaching of the doctrine; the Father in mercy accommodates himself to our infirmity and hath joined unto the word a sign to be seen with the eyes whereby he might represent to us the very substance of his promises, that, all doubt taken away, we might be confirmed and strengthened . . . ."[66] The Treatise states also that through the Lord's Supper the

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[64]Ibid. 9:76. [65]Cf. Wallace. op. cit., p. 240.

[66]Treatise. n. p.

communicant is led into the partaking of Christ.

Here is the necessity of the sign, primarily because the communicant's inability to accept words and concepts and an attitude of faith as being sufficient. The sign lends understanding to the reality which it represents. In the same vein the Opera Selecta records:

> As we see the bread given to us as a sign of Christ's body, we must endeavor to understand . . . (that) as the bread nourishes the life of the body, upholds and supports it, so the body of Christ is the food and support of our physical life. Since the wine is the symbol of the blood, so we believe that Christ acts spiritually on the soul, as wine acts on our body.[67]

But it is a spiritual reception. "We call it either the Lord's Supper or the Eucharist, because in it we are fed spiritually by the kindness of God, and we on our part give thanks for his goodness."[68]

## The Real Presence in Calvin's Teachings

There are a sufficient number of statements throughout Calvin's writings concerning the nature of the revelation and presence of Christ in the sacrament to indicate that however adamant he is about both transubstantiation and consubstantiation, he maintains the fact of the real

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[67] Opera Selecta. 1. p. 238.

[68] Ibid. 1. p. 236.

presence of Christ in the Eucharist. His use of the word "sign" never is intended to intimate an absense of Christ's presence nor to reduce the meaningfulness of the sacrament.

From the Institutes comes this statement:

> Greatly mistaken are those who conceive no presence of flesh in the Supper unless it lies in the bread. For thus they leave nothing to the secret working of the Spirit, which unites Christ himself to us. To them Christ does not seem present unless he comes down to us. Although, if he should lift us to himself, we should not just as much enjoy his presence. The question is therefore only one of the manner, for they place Christ in the bread, which we do not think it lawful for us to drag him from heaven. Let our readers decide which one is more correct.[69]

This is explained by the article on "Presbyterianism" in the Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion as placing Calvin between Lutheran consubstantiation and the Zwinglian position:

> It substitutes for the corporeal presence of Christ a spiritual, though quite real, presence; for the magical opus operatum of Roman Catholicism it substitutes an operation of the Holy Spirit whereby the believing communicant truly feeds upon Christ; it professes to find in the real presence a mystery too profound to be explained by the simple mechanical theory of Catholics and Lutherans or to be explained away by the simple denial of Zwingli; and while the mediating position of the Calvinist position has brought it under the suspicion of being cunningly devised in the interest of ecclesiastical and political union among the Reformers (politic, not philosophical theology)--so far as it is known, no scrap of evidence exists to show that Calvin had any such deliberate purpose.[70]

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[69] Institutes. IV.xviii.31.

[70] Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion. Vol. 10, "Presbyterianism", p. 244.

This of course is in conformity with the rest of Calvin's theology; the natural thing for one who is not an extremist is to devise a theory which retains the real presence without degrading it into a mechanical production by a priest with a formula. Calvin's innate reasonableness and moderation are found in his ability to hold together in one system a great mass of Protestant opinion.[71]

Calvin believed he stood in the tradition of the historic church when he stated in the Institutes that "the sacred mystery of the Supper consists in two things: physical signs, which, thrust before our eyes, represent to us, according to our feeble capacity, things invisible; and spiritual truth, which is at the same time represented and displayed through the symbols themselves."[72]

It is his sense of wonder and awe which attests to Calvin's acknowledgment of the presence of Christ in the sacrament. In the Institutes again:

> Although my mind can think beyond what my tongue can utter, yet even only my mind is conquered and overwhelmed by the greatness of the thing. Therefore, nothing remains but to break forth in wonder at this mystery, which plainly neither the mind is able to conceive nor the tongue to express.[73]

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[71]Cf. Ibid. p. 248.

[72]Institutes. IV.xvii.11.

[73]Ibid. IV.xvii.7.

In the same section he writes concerning the manner of the Supper:

> If any one should ask me how this the mystery takes place, I shall not be ashamed to confess that it is a secret too lofty for either my mind to comprehend or my words to declare. And to speak more plainly, I rather experience than understand it.[74]

Barclay interprets Calvin's views thus: that the Sacrament is an act wherein Christ communicates to us the full power of his personality with all the resulting benefits of this living union. From the body of Christ there streams a power over and above the ordinary influence of the Holy Ghost of which the believers in the Supper are recipients.[75] In the Eucharist Christ is present with omnia beneficia; the bread and wine are not the bare signs of the body, yet the body is neither under the bread nor is the bread itself the body. Still the bread and wine are not symbols only of the death of Christ but of the living union with Christ. (This is a view which Oecolampadius came to accept after he met Melanchthon, and was similarly held by Bucer.)

Calvin, in a dispute with Farel, said, "It is a spiritual communion, by which, en vertu et en efficase, he

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[74]Ibid. IV.xvii.32.

[75]Barclay. op. cit., pp. 120,121.

makes us partakers of all that we can receive of grace in his body and his blood. It is all spiritual, i.e., by the bond (lien) of his Spirit."[76]

In De Coena Calvin says that two things are presented in the Supper: 1) Jesus Christ as the source and substance of all good and 2) the fruit and efficacy of his death and passion. In no case can one deny that a true communication of Jesus Christ is presented to us in the Supper, for that would be to render the Sacrament frivolous and useless--in fact, nothing short of blasphemy.[77]

The Treatise has this statement:

> We have already seen that Jesus Christ is the only food by which our souls are nourished; but as it is distributed to us by the word of the Lord, which he has appointed an instrument for the purpose that word is also called bread and water. Now what is said of the word applies as well to the sacrament of the Supper, by means of which the Lord leads us to communion with Jesus Christ. . . . The Father of mercy . . . has pleased to add to his word a visible sign by which he might represent the substance of his promises . . . . Since, then, there is something so mysterious and incomprehensible in saying that we have communion with the body and blood of Jesus Christ, and we on our part are so rude and gross that we cannot understand the least things of God, it was of importance that we should be given to understand it as far as our capacity could admit.[78]

Whatever his view of the sacrament, and it has been seen to have several sides and emphases, there is fre-

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[76]Émile Doumergo. Jean Calvin, p. 215.

[77]Cf. Barclay. op. cit., p. 142. [78]Treatise. n. p.

quently the parallel emphasis and importance of the Word, as he calls it, or the necessity of preaching, which also is an expression of God to man, and handled by Calvin almost as if it were sacramental in itself and at the same time a vital concomitant of the Supper to give it meaning and to prevent careless participation in the Eucharist.

A further view of Calvin's attitude toward the Lord's Supper is his strong sense of the work of the Holy Spirit in the Holy Communion. The mystical union between Christ and the believer, a union produced by the Holy Spirit, he did not try to explain; it remained in the area of mystery.[79] He wrote, "We acknowledge that the sacred union which we have with Christ is incomprehensible to carnal sense. His joining us with him so as not only to instill his life into us, but to make us one with himself, we grant to be a mystery, too sublime for our comprehension."[80]

## Protestant Unity Through the Sacraments

Calvin's "Consensus Tigurinus" reflected his deep

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[79]Cf. Thomas Cary Johnson. John Calvin and the Genevan Reformation. Richmond: The Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1900, p. 67.

[80]Quoted in Johnson, op. cit., from Calvin's Tracts, Vol. II, p. 39.

desire to unite all branches of the Reformed church in a common doctrine of the Lord's Supper. There are twenty-six points in the "Consensus." The writer has summarized its substance in the following statements:

> A true knowledge of the sacraments can come only from a true knowledge of Christ, who is the eternal Son of God, of the same essence with the Father, and assumed our flesh to communicate to us by right of adoption that which he possessed by nature, namely, to make us children of God.
>
> Christ, a Priest and King who expiated sin by the sacrifice of his death, communicates himself to us by being made one with us. The means of communication are the preaching of the Gospels and the use of the sacraments.
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> The ends of the sacraments are incitement to gratitude, the exercise of faith and a godly life. It is important that there is submitted to the eye a kind of living image which makes a deep impression on the senses, while the objects bring the death of Christ to remembrance, that faith may be better exercised.
>
> The signs themselves and the things the signs signify are not disjoined. The sacraments are not bare signs but convey God's promises. Still, they are not to be gazed at (as if there were virtue in the elements themselves) since the sacraments effect nothing in or of themselves. In using the instrumentality of the sacraments, God is adapting himself to our weakness, using them as helps. Thus the whole power of acting remains with God alone, all the virtue is his, and the whole of it is accomplished by Christ.
>
> The sacraments confirm (seal), nourish, and advance faith, and the Holy Spirit is properly the seal, the beginner and the finisher of faith.
>
> All may partake of the sacraments but only the elect partake of the reality; or, the gifts are offered to all, but only believers receive. (Here Calvin's doctrine of election.) They (the sacraments) do not confer grace in themselves, and benefit is not always received in the act of communicating; the use of the Holy

> Supper in thoughtlessness may do little good at the time, but ultimately bears its fruit.
>
> No local presence may be imagined or accepted. "This is my body" is not literal. However, life is drawn from the flesh once offered in sacrifice; nourishment is through faith by the agency of the Holy Spirit.
>
> Transubstantiation is again refuted as a fiction of the Papists, and consubstantiation, or placing Christ under the bread, is considered no less absurd. Christ is to be sought in heaven, not adored in the bread, which is a symbol and pledge of communion with Christ, a sign and not the thing itself.

This is a statement in which there is no compromise. The new element as compared to Calvin's other writings is the activity of the Holy Spirit which provides a profitable communion.

Some hold that Calvin's earlier views are more Lutheran, here more Zwinglian, later tending again toward the Lutheran view; and that Calvin was swayed at this point by his strong desire for Protestant union. But to know his strength of character in other situations would lead one to believe that he would not compromise what he believed to be truth.

The "Consensus" was accepted by Zwinglians, but the Lutherans took offence and it did not prevail in Germany as Calvin had hoped.[81]

Calvin believed that the simpler the view of the

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[81] Barclay. op. cit., pp. 69-75.

Sacrament, consistent with the significance attributed to it by Christ and the Apostles, the greater its potency would be and the more it would be a true means of grace. He desired a doctrine so reasonable that all could embrace it.[82] Such was his hope, his unfulfilled dream.

## Value and Significance of the Sacrament

Calvin consistently asserted the importance and value of the sacraments. He attributed such benefit as a result of participation in the Lord's Supper that it was his desire to celebrate it every Sunday, this in order to provide an indispensable assurance not gained by any other means.[83]

In the Treatise, again affirming the exalted position in which he placed the Eucharist, Calvin said that it was sacrilege to contaminate that which God had consecrated by contempt, disregard, or negligence; that there is nothing more worthy than the body and blood of Christ; that it was no small fault to despise it or to receive it without consideration or preparation. He wrote, "It behooveth our souls to be hungry, and fervently to desire meat, that they

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[82]A. Mitchell Hunter. The Teaching of Calvin. Westwood, New Jersey: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1950, p. 169.

[83]Ibid., p. 170.

may in the Supper of the Lord find their nutriment."[84] In the same section he places the Holy Communion in the perspective of the whole attitude of the communicant toward God: "We cannot desire Christ in the Sacrament unless we aspire to the justice of God, which consisteth in the denial of oneself and the obedience that ought to be given him."[85] However, he continues, imperfect faith does not hinder one from coming to the Table, if in weakness there is also trust for health in Christ. The weakness itself ought to admonish the believer to come to the Supper as to the chief remedy.

Barclay quotes Calvin's statement that "we ought to exalt the mystery and to celebrate it with thanksgiving . . . so united to one another as members of one body are bound together. Christ . . . in making himself common to all makes us also to be one in him."[86] Here is another of the values of the Eucharist: the union or oneness of communicants as they partake.

The presence of the Spirit of God and receptiveness on the part of the communicant are vital unless the sacrament were to become "an empty and trifling thing."[87] The

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[84] Treatise. n. p. [85] Loc. cit.

[86] C. R. xxii. p. 70. Quoted by Barclay. op. cit., p. 127.

[87] Institutes. III.xiv.9.

efficacy of the Eucharist is dependent on the cooperating factors of the Holy Spirit and the Word.[88] In his Commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians he wrote that failure to participate is to forfeit "special grace." He contended against both the view of failing to participate because of the unworthiness of others, and the practice of not partaking because of weakness of faith. This, he said, is the same as if one would not call a doctor if he were ill.

## The Action of the Holy Spirit in the Eucharist

In the Institutes Calvin writes concerning the presence and action of the Holy Spirit in the Eucharist:

> Even though it seems unbelievable that Christ's flesh, separated from us by such great distance, penetrates to us, so that it becomes our food, let us remember how far the secret power of the Holy Spirit towers above all our senses, and how foolish it is to wish to measure his immeasurableness by our measure. What, then, our mind does not comprehend, let faith conceive: that the Spirit truly unites things separated in (by) space.[89]

The participation of the Holy Spirit is referred to again in the Confessio Fideo de Eucharista:

> The spiritual life . . . consists not merely in this, that he vivifies us by his Spirit but . . . also makes us to partake of his life-giving flesh.[90]

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[88]Hunter. op. cit., p. 171.

[89]Institutes. IV.xvii.10.

[90]Cf. Barclay. op. cit., p. 130.

Both Calvin and his Geneva associate, Farel, because of the Confessio, were accused of Arianism for in it they avoided the term "trinity" and refused to affirm the Athanasian Creed. The document takes a deeper view of the mystical union than the Lutheran concept of momentary, bodily communion which combines dualistically with a continuous spiritual union. Calvin here asserts the communion with Christ according to his humanity, but that it is inward and not outward. Thus the general mystical union is affirmed in two ways: 1) the communicant is "vivified" by the Holy Spirit and 2) is thereby a participant in the body and blood of Christ.

A further statement from the Institutes concerning the action of the Holy Spirit affirms that "his Spirit is the bond of our participation in him; he feeds us truly with the substance of the Lord's flesh and blood unto immortality, and vivifies us by their participation."[91]

He continues that it is not merely a commemoration or pledge that Christ has died for us, but an act in which there is a true renewing and promoting of that continuous, living union.

Anti-Roman Concepts

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[91]Institutes. III.18.19.

To Marguerite of Navarre, sister of Francis I of France, Calvin wrote:

> In so far as the Mass is a sacrifice ordained by men for the redemption and salvation of the living and the dead, as their (Roman) canon states, it is an intolerable blasphemy in which the sufferings of Jesus Christ are overthrown as if they were of no avail . . . . They say they make the same sacrifice that Jesus made. But thence arise several blasphemies. For this sacrifice could be made only by himself . . . . Either we must recognize the horrible blasphemy of the Mass and detest it, or by approving it we must trample under foot the cross of Jesus . . . . The great abomination is the idolatry that is made in it, a creature being adored in the place of God, which is quite inexcusable.[92]

Calvin did not frequently indulge in open criticism of contrary views nor compare his own developing system with that of others. But when he did, it was direct and to the point and there was no question as to where he stood.

## Resume of Calvin's Little Treatise on the Lord's Supper

Calvin's views have been drawn from a variety both of his own writings and those who have commented on or interpreted them. His Treatise has been quoted in several connections, but since it is the work of Calvin which most clearly and succinctly states his views, a summary of it should serve to draw together and conclude this central

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[92]Quoted in Jean Cadier. The Man God Mastered. London: Inter-Varsity Fellowship, 1960. Translated from the French by O. R. Johnston.

point of the study. In it Calvin endeavored to clarify the point of view from which he sought to interpret the relevant biblical data in a way that was neither Roman, Lutheran nor Zwinglian.[93] Jean Cadier, in The Man God Mastered (originally in French) has provided such a summary:

> The life which is in Christ is given us now by means of the Word and Sacrament. The Lord signs and seals in our consciences the promises of his gospel by means of the sacrament, which is a visible confirmation of his word. A further task of the Supper is to lead us to praise God (this is the sense of the term eucharist, thanksgiving, by which it is sometimes designated), and to permit us to show forth our brotherly love towards other believers.
>
> What are these promises which the Supper confirms for us? Those of our salvation . . . . The Supper is given to us as a mirror in which we may contemplate our Lord Jesus Christ, crucified to do away with our sins and raised again to bring us back into the eternal life of heaven. In the Supper our Lord is given us. Here Calvin employs the strongest terms to denote the reality of this gift: 'All the usefulness that we must seek in the Supper is nullified unless Jesus Christ is given us as substance and foundation of all. That having been decided, we shall confess without any doubt that to deny that Jesus Christ is truly communicated to us in the Supper is to render this holy sacrament frivolous and useless, which is an accursed blasphemy unworthy to be heard.'
>
> This communion in the body and blood of the Lord, that is to say, in his humanity in which he suffered for us and made satisfaction in our stead, is prefigured to us by visible signs, but in such a way that the internal substance of the sacraments is joined with these visible signs. Calvin does not hesitate to use the word 'substance,' charged though it be with theological ambiguity. We meet it at least ten times in the course of the Treatise. As another example: 'Jesus

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[93] Cf. Wendel, op. cit., p. 62.

> Christ gives us in the Supper the very substance of his body and blood in order that we might be fully possessors of it, and possessing it, be partakers in all his riches.' He uses the word, then, not in the theological sense but in the general sense of 'fundamental reality.'
>
> But how is this gift of the fullness of Christ given to us through the visible sign? Here we must use the great Calvinist doctrine of the action of the Holy Spirit. The presence of Christ in the Supper is a spiritual presence, which means a presence which is the work of the Holy Spirit. 'We must realize that this takes place by the secret, miraculous power of God, and that the Spirit of God is the blessing in this participation.' 'To understand rightly the usefulness of the Supper we must not think that our Lord warns us, stirs us up and inflames our hearts only by the external signs. For the principal matter is that he is active in us by his Holy Spirit within.'[94]

The presence is real--the very substance of the body and blood; the presence is spiritual; the significance is more than mere symbol.

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[94]Cadier, op. cit., pp. 122-124.

## CHAPTER IV

## RITUAL AND CEREMONY IN CALVIN'S TEACHING

According to the Roman Catholic author, Florimund de Raemond, the first Calvinist service was held in a hidden locality in Poitiers, possibly a cave. The story is recounted that Calvin was in the midst of a discussion on the Lord's Supper. Referring to the Bible before him, he said, "This is my Mass." Then in prayer he said, "Lord, if on the day of judgment you hold it against me that I never went to Mass and that I left it, I shall say and with reason [that] you did not command it. Here is your law, here is Scripture, which is the rule you have given me, in which I have not been able to find any sacrifice other than that which was offered on the altar of the cross."[1]

The Supper itself was first celebrated in a form called manducation, used by Calvin. It is described by de Raemond:

> One in the company, elected by them, would read a passage from the four Gospels as seemed good to him on the subject of the sacrament of Eucharist, and having expressed his detestation of the Mass as an invention of the devil he would say to them, "Brethren, let us eat the bread of the Lord in memory of his death and passion." Then they would sit down to the table, then he would break the bread and give to each of them a piece and all would eat together without saying a word,

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[1]Florimund de Raemond. Histoire de la Naissance, Progres et Décedence de l'Hérésie de ce Siècle, 1623, p. 906.

> each putting on the best face that he could. They did the same when they took the wine, after which this elected representative would give thanks to the Lord for his favour towards them in allowing them to recognize the abuses of the papacy and in granting grace to understand the truth. This done, he would say with the others the Lord's Prayer and the creed in Latin; then the assembly would rise.[2]

Thus, in utter simplicity, in the city of Poitiers, the first recorded celebration of the sacrament occurred according to Reformed tradition. Calvin had not yet made public the widening gap between his developing views and the tradition of Rome. And he was yet to develop a form of celebration, in Strasbourg, that would relieve the starkness of the cave service, and would retain more of tradition than the Lord's Prayer and the creed in Latin--that language likely having been used because the communicants would not have known them in French. No printed form or instruction or book of worship had yet been formulated.

## The Structure of Worship

The sacrament itself must be understood in terms of the total sense of worship as it was understood in the Reformed tradition. In Protestantism as a movement there was a close connection between the nature of faith and the forms which were used to express it. A primary differen-

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[2] Ibid., p. 910.

tiation which set Calvinism apart was an adoring sense of the transcendence and "sole causality of God, before whose infinite majesty, incomprehensible essence, boundless power and eternal duration"[3] man is insignificant, except as he illustrates the operation of God's grace in election and redemption. And his mercy is as abundant as his majesty. Election, Calvin's dominant thought, issues from the concept of the absolute sovereignty of God, whose chief property is grace, but who also is a Lawgiver, with a consequent infallible legal code. This is in contrast to Luther's thought that salvation is freedom through faith, hence little legality.[4]

The chief difference between Catholic and Protestant worship may be seen in their respective emphasis on the scriptures and the Sacraments as the means of communion with God. The reformers all moved the sacraments from a primary position because the one essential consideration to true worship was God's promise and man's response of believing trust.

Calvin's criticism of Catholic worship as being impure and unspiritual rose from his concept of it as a cor-

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[3] Institutes. III.20.40.

[4] Christian Worship. Members of Mansfield College. Edited by Nathaniel Micklem. London: Oxford University Press, 1936, pp. 155,156.

rupt and presumptuous substitution of human devices for the norm revealed in Scripture. Ceremony thereby became hurtful when it exceeded the limit of stimulus and expression of true religion. He attacks the cult of saints and relics and use of images as disguised idolatry which had no warrant in Scripture and materialized God.

But Calvin is not seen entirely as one who distrusted beauty and the arts for their own sake. The puritanism which denounced the symbolism of ornament and ceremonial in worship, removing the crucifix, candles, flowers, alb and chasuble, singing and organ music all as a vain show may be wrongly interpreted. Calvin condemned idolatry, not pictures and candles, but in his extreme concern to purify, the service became quite stark.[5] The spirit of what was happening during these decades of the sixteenth century can be sensed when one enters the church in which Calvin ministered in Geneva. Its architecture within and without was intended to express the nature and form of Roman Catholic worship. But inside it has been stripped bare of every possible suggestion of the ritual and ceremony of Catholicism, and one feels as if vandals have broken in and stolen everything that is valuable and essential.

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[5]Cf. Christian Worship, pp. 160-162.

Calvin's intent, however, was to solve the fundamental question of freedom, and any attempt to correct or reform an established pattern almost inevitably results in the swing of the pendulum to the opposite extreme. His purpose in this simplicity was to convey a new sense of the significance of freedom and the conviction that the only acceptable worship is that of the heart without the intrusion of material attraction.

What might have been considered a bare and cold worship was mitigated by two new inclusions: 1) The intelligibility and rationality afforded by the use of the vernacular. Non-rational awe gives place to understanding lent by knowing what is being done in worship. The sense of the holy is related to the world of moral realities and reverence is made rational. 2) Congregational singing. The Protestant hymn of the sixteenth century belonged to the people. The medieval hymn was largely contained in the monastery.[6]

The central point of any Protestant service was the sermon, because the reformers laid primary emphasis on the Word, as they referred to the scripture, which was, then, the basis of faith and worship. In Geneva, to go to church

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[6]Cf. Christian Worship. p. 162. A. Mitchell Hunter. The Teaching of Calvin. Westwood, New Jersey: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1950, pp. 273, 274.

was aller au sermon, to go to the sermon.[7]

The introduction to the Genevan Service Book bears a reminder that "it was not the intention of the reformers to depart from the central traditions of Christendom and innovate according to mere whim and mood."[8] Rather, they counted themselves as the "faithful trustees of Catholic tradition, and if they simplified the . . . worship of their day, they did so with the intention of removing all medieval and sacerdotal accretions in order to achieve the simplicity and purity of the primitive rites . . . . Calvin leaves us in no state of doubt concerning his exact intention in the reform of worship, for he takes care to explain it on the title page of La Forme de Prière. His service book is, he states, a 'form of prayers and administration of the Sacraments according to the custom of the ancient church.' He was always . . . deeply conscious of the weight and wealth of the Christian tradition of the Early Church, and this it was his consistent and eager desire in his reforms to restore and preserve."[9]

In The Necessity of Reforming the Church, Calvin wrote:

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[7]Cf. Christian Worship, p. 165.

[8]Genevan Service Book, p. 34.

[9]Loc. cit.

> Let us . . . see what is meant by the due worship of God. Its chief foundation is to acknowledge him to be, as he is, the only source of all virtue, justice, holiness, wisdom, truth, power, goodness, mercy, life, and salvation; in accordance with us, to ascribe and render to him the glory of all that is good, to seek all things in him alone, and in every want have access to him alone. Hence arises prayer . . . praise and thanksgiving--these being attestations to the glory which we attribute to him . . . . To this is united adoration, by which we manifest for him the reverence due to his greatness and excellency and to this ceremonies are subservient . . . as instruments in order that, in divine worship, the body may be exercised . . . with the soul. Next after these comes self-abasement . . . trained by obedience to his will . . . . In these things consists the true and sincere worship which alone God approves.[10]

Further on in this work Calvin combines wit and sarcasm (and a bit of humor) when he writes, "Divine offices are distributed among the saints as if they had been appointed colleagues to the Supreme God, and, in a multitude of instances, they are made to do his work, while he is kept out of view." And then concerning the worshippers, "Passing by Christ, the only Mediator, each betook himself to the patron who had struck his fancy."[11]

Concerning his attitude to the externalism of the then prevailing Christian worship, he wrote:

> When the people are presented with nothing but empty figures, with which to feed the eye, while they hear no doctrine which might direct them to the proper end,

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[10]The Necessity of Reforming the Church, p. 14.

[11]Ibid., pp. 18, 19.

> they look no further than the external act . . . as if the sacraments had been given for any other end or use than to lead us by the hand to Christ. Then, in addition to this, after consecrating the bread, . . . they keep it in a little box, and occasionally carry it about in solemn state, that it may be adored and prayed to instead of Christ.[12]

Administration of the Sacrament

One of Calvin's statements concerning the sacraments is in the form of a definition: "I think this definition will be right and simple if we say that the sacrament is an outward sign by which God seals upon our consciences the promises of his good will towards us, to confirm our feeble faith, and we give mutual testimony before him to be God. One can still more briefly define what a sacrament is by saying that it is a testimony of the grace of God towards us, confirmed by an external sign, with mutual attestation of the honor we bear him. Whichever of these two definitions one may choose, its meaning will be in accord with what is said by St. Augustine, that a sacrament is a visible sign of a sacred thing, or a visible form of the invisible grace."[13]

Also from the Institutes, Calvin describes what he understands to be the action and relationships which occur in the Holy Communion: "In revealing himself God takes up into his activity an earthly action or event, and unites

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[12] Ibid., p. 32. [13] Institutes. IV.14.1.

with himself, for a moment, a human element . . . . In such sacramental action a union takes place between the divine element--the Spirit or action of God--and the human activity, so that the whole event is effectual in conveying the very grace depicted in its outward form. What God therefore depicts in the sacraments, he actually brings to pass through their agency."[14]

This is one of Calvin's strongest statements as to his understanding of the presence of Christ in the elements. It is a presence defined by Barclay as signa exhibitiva, rather than the signa representiva of Zwingli.[15]

Instructions for the administration of the Lord's Supper occur in several places, one in the Institutes. Here is indicated an extraordinary freedom as to procedure:

> As for the outward ceremony of the action--whether or not the believers take it in their hands, or divide it among themselves, or severally eat what has been given to each; whether they hand the cup back to the deacon or give it to the next person; whether the bread is leavened or unleavened; the wine red or white--it makes no difference. These things are indifferent and left at the church's discretion . . . . Now, to get rid of the great pile of ceremonies, the Supper could have been administered most becomingly if it were set before the church very often, and at least once a week. First, then, it should begin with public prayer. After this a sermon should be given. Then, when bread and wine have been placed on the Table, the minister should repeat the words of institution of the Supper. Next,

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[14]Ibid., IV.17.3.

[15]Barclay. op. cit., p. 129.

> he should recite the promises which were left to us in it; at the same time, he should excommunicate all who are debarred from it by the Lord's prohibition. Afterward, he should pray that the Lord, with the kindness wherewith he has bestowed this sacred food upon us, also teach and form us to receive it with faith and thankfulness of heart and, inasmuch as we are not so of ourselves, by his mercy make us worthy of such a feast. But here either psalms should be sung, or something be read, and in becoming order the believers should partake of the most holy banquet, the ministers breaking the bread and giving the cup. When the Supper is finished, there should be an exhortation to sincere faith and confession of faith, to love and behavior worthy of Christians. At the last, thanks should be given, and praises sung to God. When these things are ended, the church should be dismissed in peace.[16]

The Genevan reformer makes a bid for simplicity: "Under the Apostles the Lord's Supper was administered with great simplicity. Their immediate successors added something to enhance the dignity of the mystery which was not to be condemned. But afterward they were replaced by those foolish imitators, who, by patching pieces from time to time, contrived for us these priestly vestments that we see in the Mass, these altar ornaments, these gesticulations, and the whole apparatus of useless things."[17]

A. Mitchell Hunter attributed to Calvin the view that the sacraments are the special forms of the method God uses in his intercourse with men to communicate certain

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[16] Institutes. IV.xvii.43.

[17] Ibid. IV.x.19.

truths or to impart certain spiritual impressions or feelings.[18]

In The Necessity of Reforming the Church Calvin writes, "I come now to ceremonies, which ought to be grave attestations of divine worship, but had degenerated into mere mockery of God . . . . The evil is that while ceremonies ought to be living exercises of piety, men are vainly occupied with numbers . . . . The most deadly evil of all is that after men have marked God with ceremonies, . . . they think they have fulfilled their duty as admirably as if these ceremonies included in them the whole essence of piety and divine worship."[19]

Other than the rather primitive service in Poitiers described earlier, Calvin's first known--and possibly finest--effort in formulating a liturgy was during his Strasbourg period. Among other duties, he was minister to refugees from France; indeed, by agreement with the authorities and in conformity with the ecclesiastical legislation adopted in 1538, it was Calvin who organized the first French parish in Strasbourg which would become a model for all the parishes which were afterwards created in the chief Protestant centers in France. He was influenced largely by

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[18]Hunter. op. cit., p. 167.

[19]The Necessity of Reforming the Church, p. 21.

the organization of the Strasbourg church and the customs he observed there.

From them he borrowed the general order of worship and the characteristic formularies. The confession and the prayers of thanksgiving at the Holy Communion, for example, were translated into French, and were still preserved by Calvin later on in the Genevan church, which in its turn transmitted them to all the Reformed churches using the French language.[20]

Calvin watched closely the Reform in France and was in constant correspondence with Protestant leaders there. He had laid down the broad lines of church polity in the Institutes which were basic to his dream of a national church.[21]

The "Discipline" of 1559 drawn up by the Synod of Paris is unique in its importance. All of Presbyterianism has been influenced by it. This was the first Synod of the Reformed Churches of France, met to frame a creed and discipline for a scattered church of 400,000 people. This first French discipline finds its basis, as do the other

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[20]Francois Wendel. Calvin. New York: Harper and Row, 1963, pp. 59, 60. Translated from the French by P. Mairet.

[21]Discipline, or Book of Order of the Reformed Churches in France. Translated from the Orleans Edition of 1675 by Marguerita G. Campbell. London: Publication Committee of the Presbyterian Church of England, 1924, p. vi.

Reformed documents, in the same source, the Genevan "parent" documents and forms. Social and political differences are observable, partly out of differing temperaments among those who were doing this essential groundwork. But the basis of conformity to scripture was common to all. The French planned calmly, quietly, and reflected the orderliness of Calvin's legal mind while Knox's book is noisy and unrestrained in righteous indignation against abuses and malpractice.[22]

Calvin was concerned to give greater solemnity to the Holy Communion, and to exclude the "unworthy" from it. From Matthew Zell, pastor of the Cathedral, he adopted the practice of admitting no one to the Holy Communion except the faithful who had previously presented themselves to the pastor or vicar. He also made instruction in the catechism obligatory for the children, who were not allowed to join in ceremonies until they had acquired what was considered indispensable religious knowledge.[23]

On the Sundays when the Holy Communion was not celebrated, Calvin followed the practice that had become customary in Strasbourg in the parish churches after 1530. The order, structure, and content of the Eucharistic service were largely retained, but the parts which belonged di-

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[22] Ibid. pp. v-viii. [23] Ibid. p. 61.

rectly to consecration and communion were necessarily omitted. This practice was followed in Scotland after the Reformation, as well as in England, by both Anglicans and Puritans.[24]

Calvin's rite on the Continent became the norm of worship in the Calvinian churches of France, Switzerland, South Germany, Holland, Denmark, and elsewhere. There were local variants, but the work of the Genevan reformer could always be detected.[25]

Doumerge, the eminent Calvin authority, gives this estimate of Calvin's rite: "Shall it be said that . . . the true Calvinian cultus was by nature cold and impoverished? Those who were present at the services have told us that often they could not keep back the tears of their emotion and joy. Singing and prayers, adoration and edification, confession and absolution of sins, acts both formal and spontaneous: all the essential elements of worship were there. And, perhaps not less important, they were united in an organism that was very simple, yet supple and strong. Calvin is, in fact, of all the Reformers the one who most steadfastly rejected the divisions of worship into two parts. The Calvinian cultus is one."[26]

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[24]Maxwell. op. cit., p. 119. [25]Loc. cit.

[26]Émile Doumerge. Jean Calvin. Vol. 2. Lausanne: 1905, p. 504.

In De Coena Domini, Calvin deals with the Lord's Supper under five heads:

1. The end to which the Holy Sacrament was instituted;
2. The "fruit" and "utility" that are received from it"
3. The legitimate use of it;
4. The errors and superstitions with which it had been contaminated;
5. The recent discussions and disputes on the subject.

Its purpose, in this work, is threefold:

1. To sign and seal our consciences as we are made partakers of Christ's body and blood.
2. To exercise us in recognizing his great goodness towards us.
3. To exhort us to all holiness, unity and brotherly charity.[27]

The Confession of Faith of 1537, to which all Geneva citizens had to swear allegiance, expressed clearly Calvin's anxiety to preserve the purity of the Lord's Table. It was expressed, as elsewhere in Calvin's work, as a sign by which, under the bread and wine, Christ represents to the communicant the true spiritual communion which is in his body and blood. There was instruction that it should be distributed to the "congregation of believers," an impli-

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[27]Quoted by Barclay. op. cit., p. 140.

cation that those outside the congregation could not communicate.[28]

Calvin's view as to what was necessary for "worthiness" to communicate was interpreted by Cadier as being 1) repentance and faith; and 2) a sense of one's own weakness, and faith alone in the grace of God.[29]

Strong words were reserved to combat the ceremonialism of the Roman Church. Calvin condemned any adoration of the elements and processions with the host. In the Institutes he wrote: "To prostrate ourselves before the bread of the Supper and worship Jesus Christ as if he were contained in it, is to make an idol of it rather than a sacrament."[30] The significance of the sacraments was not to be obscured by the introduction of needless ceremony.

One of the distresses and disappointments of Calvin's experience was that he was rarely able to carry out his conviction that Communion should be observed frequently--"at least once a week." The magistrates at the Church of Geneva, who also had civil authority, rejected it apparently on the grounds that it was a part of a carry-over from the Roman Mass, and they would have none of

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[28] Ibid., p. 129.

[29] Cadier. op. cit., p. 124.

[30] Opera Selecta. 1.522.

it. This conformed with the Zwinglian example of separating the Eucharist from the Sunday morning preaching service. During the Reformer's relatively brief stay in Strasbourg, the Sunday morning service was a modified Eucharist, celebrated in the vernacular. This was a point he made in the Institutes[31] and was clearly a matter of extreme concern. "This custom that enjoins that men should communicate once a year is certainly an invention of the devil. The Lord's Supper should be celebrated in the Christian congregation once a week at the very least."[32]

His disappointment was not assuaged and his views did not alter through the years. In 1561 he wrote, "I have taken care to record publicly that our custom is defective, so that those who come after me may be able to correct it the more freely and easily."[33]

In Geneva he was able to celebrate quarterly, but never oftener than that. In other branches of the Reformed church, Scotland, for example, it was eventually reduced to once a year.

A letter from Calvin to the magistrates at Berne in

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[31] Institutes. IV.17.43,44.

[32] Quoted in Maxwell, Outline of Christian Worship, p. 117.

[33] C. R. Vol. xxxviii, p. 213. Quoted by Maxwell. op. cit., p. 118.

1555 read in part, "There is another matter, that we celebrate the Lord's Supper four times a year, and you three times. Please God, gentlemen, that both you and we may be able to establish a more frequent usage. For it is evident from St. Luke in the Book of Acts that communion was much more frequently celebrated in the primitive church; and that continued for a long time in the ancient church, until this abomination of the Mass was set up by Satan, who so caused it that people received communion only once or twice a year. Wherefore, we must acknowledge that it is a defect in us that we do not follow the example of the Apostles."[34]

In the Treatise Calvin inquired, "I ask those . . . which lay for themselves their own unworthiness, how their conscience can sustain so great misery for more than a year, and dare not call upon the Lord accordingly?"[35]

The order of receiving the Holy Communion in Calvin's rite was the normal order throughout the church, the celebrant receiving first, then his ministers, then the people. Communion was received standing or kneeling, the people coming forward to the Holy Table, where in Geneva as at Strasbourg, they received the Bread from one mini-

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[34]Quoted in Maxwell. Outline of Christian Worship, pp. 117, 118.

[35]Treatise. n. p.

ster and the Cup from another.[36]

Calvin's Strasbourg Service

It is the service which Calvin developed and used at Strasbourg which more than any other reflects his attitude toward worship and the use and importance of the Sacraments. Here he was free; no council issued decrees as to what he could or could not do. It was actually an adaptation of the worship then established in Strasbourg, which indicates his high opinion of that form, and his respect for the leadership of the church there, particularly Bucer.[37]

When he first arrived in Strasbourg in 1539, he issued the Alcunes Psaeumes et Cantiques Mys en Chant, to serve until he had had time to prepare a service book. In 1540 the first edition of a service book appeared. It included the service for Sunday morning worship, orders for administration of the sacraments, a marriage service, and various prayers.[38]

In 1542 the second edition was published, La Manyère

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[36]Cf. Maxwell. op. cit., p. 118.

[37]Ibid., p. 112.

[38]Genevan Service Book, p. 21.

de faire prières aux églises francayses.[39] The third edition, La forme des prières, came in 1545, and the fourth in 1551.[40]

Calvin's aim was twofold: 1) to restore the Eucharist in its primitive simplicity and its true proportions as the central weekly service; and 2) to give the Scripture its authoritative place within this service. He is misunderstood when he is thought to have desired to replace sacramental worship with a preaching service. The Lord's Supper in its completeness was the norm he wanted to establish.

One of his famous phrases was the "monkeying of the medieval Mass," which he detested. His standard was the corporate worship of the Early Church, a fact made plain by the full title of his service book: The Form of Prayers and Manner of Ministering the Sacraments According to the Use of the Ancient Church.[41]

The rite Calvin used in Geneva, first published in 1542, was a slightly simplified form of his Strasbourg service, but both were essentially the same in form and content.

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[39]One copy is in the library in Geneva.

[40]Included in Pullain's Liturgica sacra, a Latin translation of La Forme des Prières, now in London. Pullain succeeded Calvin at Strasbourg.

[41]Cf. Maxwell. op. cit., p. 112.

The principal changes Calvin made in Bucer's rite were these:

1. To reduce the number of variants, choosing a confession, intercession, and consecration modeled on those in Bucer's rite.

2. Addition of a paraphrase (long and tiresome) of the Lord's Prayer.

3. Introduction of the Decalogue in meter, the two tables divided by a short collect for grace to keep God's law (substituting the Kyries and Gloria).

4. Inclusion of the Nunc Dimittis after Communion.

In the preface of his service book of 1545, he wrote:

> We begin with confession of our sins, adding verses from the Law and the Gospel (i.e., absolution) and after we are assured that, as Jesus Christ has righteousness and life in himself, and that, as he lives for the sake of the Father, we are justified in him and live in the new life through the same Jesus Christ . . . . We continue with psalms, hymns of praise, the reading of the Gospel, the confession of our faith (Apostles' Creed) and the holy oblation and offerings. And, quickened and stirred by the reading and preaching of the Gospel and the confession of our faith, it follows that we must pray for the salvation of all men, for the life of Christ should be greatly enkindled within us . . . . Because we receive Jesus Christ truly in this Sacrament, we worship him in spirit and in truth; and receive the Eucharist with great reverence, concluding the whole mystery [N.B.] with prayer and thanksgiving. This, therefore, is the whole order and reason for its administration of the ancient church of the Apostles, Martyrs, and holy Fathers.

Here it is clear that Calvin wished to restore the Eucharist in its simplicity and completeness as the weekly worship of the church. Scriptures were given their central

place as in the ancient rites, and they were both read and expounded. But he was concerned to restore as well the weekly Holy Communion. The "means of grace" were twofold: Word and Sacrament.

Calvin took the Strasbourg service to Geneva (1541). He included there an order for baptism, directions for the ordination of ministers, and added metrical psalms. Called La Forme des Prières, it was translated into English and used by Marian exiles in Geneva, including John Knox.

Knox in turn adopted--and adapted--it in Scotland in 1560 where it was known successively as The Psalm Book, The Book of Common Order, and later as Knox's Liturgy. (Sixty editions were published from 1564-1638 until it was replaced by the Westminster Directory.) It was used in England as well, but under different names--The Form of Prayers, The Waldgrove Liturgy, and the Geneva Form.

It was a service which contained principles of enduring value: the Lord's Supper as the normative worship of the church; frequent communion; the basing of the service on the Eucharist whether or not the Holy Communion was being celebrated.

The Book of Common Prayer included a similar service, called the Ante-Communion; in fact, the Sunday morning service of Calvin was precisely the same as prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer in 1661, a service which was

of the same nature as the "dry Mass" or the "Mass of the Catechumens."

Rites, Liturgies, Forms of Service

Following is a selection of rites, liturgies, or forms of service which either were in use during the period of Reformed development in the sixteenth century, or contained elements of the services, or were the basis for the services which ultimately came into common acceptance. This will include a scope from ancient liturgy to the Mass of the Roman Church.

Luther's Formula Missae of 1523 was an attempt to distinguish between the essentials and non-essentials of a true Eucharist, between what was primitive and that which was added later, and to devise a rite relieved of superstitions which would still be in accord with early Catholic usage.[42]

One who anticipated Luther was Diebold Schwarz, whose German Mass was first celebrated at Strasbourg in 1524. This had a direct influence on the Strasbourg German liturgy, which in turn was used by Calvin as he wrote the Strasbourg liturgy used in the French parish there.

The German Mass of Schwarz proceeded thus:

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[42]Genevan Service Book, p. 24.

Invocation
Confession
Absolution (Scripture sentence)
Introit
Kyries
Gloria
Salutation
Collect
Epistle
Gospel
Nicene Creed
Preparation of Bread and Wine
Exhortation
Salutation
Sursum Corda
Preface
Sanctus
Benedictus qui venit
Lavabo
  Silent prayers during the Lavabo
Prayer of Consecration and Intercession
Words of Institution with Elevation
Oblation and Adoration
Lord's Prayer, plus a short addition
Agnus Dei
Exhortation (brief)
Communicatio (short prayer for separation from
  the sin of the world)
Delivery
Communion in two kinds
Post-Communion Prayer
Priest salutes and blesses the people
Amen

This service has been described as "evangelical" in spirit and Catholic in form, the bridge between the more definitely Protestant worship of the later Reformed churches and the medievalism of the Roman Church. Traditional cultus was maintained, but it was in the tongue of the people.

New editions followed with changes toward more evangelical simplicity. The following is the service as it appeared in 1525, one year following that outlined above:

Invocation
Confession
Absolution (I Timothy 1:15)
Salutation
Introit
Kyries, Gloria
Salutation
Collect
Epistle
Alleluia (Psalm 119:24)
Gospel
Nicene Creed
Preparation of Elements
Short Exhortation
Orate Fratres (to congregation)
Salutation, Sursum Corda
Preface
Sanctus
Benedictus
Lavabo
Canon
Words of Institution, Elevation
Prayers of Adoration
Lord's Prayer
Pax
Agnus Dei
Exhortation; prayer for separation from the sin of the world
Words of Delivery and Communion
Salutation and Post-Communion
Blessing
Collect and Nunc Dimittis

A later revision showed these further changes:

Invocation
Bidding to Confession
Confession
Absolution from I Timothy
Introit
Kyries, Gloria in Excelsis
Salutation
Collect
Epistle
Alleluia (Psalm 119:124)
Gospel
Sermon

Apostles' Creed
Preparation of Bread and Wine
Exhortation
Salutation
Sursum Corda
Preface
Sanctus
Benedictus qui venit
Words of Institution, Elevation
Adoration
Lord's Prayer (a different form)
Pax
Agnus Dei
Prayer for separation from the sin of the world
Exhortation
Delivery (words from Scripture)
Post-Communion
Double Blessing

From 1524 Bucer gradually became the leading ecclesiastical figure in Strasbourg. His was a via media between Lutheranism and Zwinglianism, a form which was in the direction of simplification, with greater stress on the sermon, a bit of a damper on ceremonial, and a larger place given to the congregation through psalms and hymns.[43]

Later editions showed increasing simplification and Bucer's growing influence. Following is a service celebrating the Eucharist which gives evidence of Bucer's hand:

Metrical psalm as minister goes to the Table
Confession of sins
Absolution
Introit (the word not used)
Psalm 119:45, said by celebrant and explained
Kyries, Gloria

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[43]Ibid., p. 27.

Collect
Epistle
Alleluia
Gospel
Sermon
Apostles' Creed
Preparation of the Elements
Bidding to private prayer
Sursum Corda
Preface
Sanctus
Benedictus qui venit
Prayer for consecration
Lord's Prayer (with Doxology as in Matthew)
Words of the Institution
  I Corinthians 11:23, 55 and short exhortation
Delivery of Bread and Wine with words (in
  German) during and after Communion
Psalm (sung)
Blessing (from Numbers)

Here the minister does not kneel for confession unless he desires; he faces West throughout the service, or in other words, does not face the altar (or Table) at any time; the Words of Institution have a separate place outside the Prayer of Consecration; the addition of singing gives the congregation increased participation; the Nicene Creed is not included.[44]

The last stage of the Schwarz-Bucer service was being used when Calvin came to Strasbourg:

Confession
Absolution (I Timothy 1:15)
Priestly declaration
Sentence of remission

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[44] Ibid., p. 28.

Metrical psalm or hymn (instead of the Introit)
Kyries, Gloria (not always)
Collect for illumination
Metrical psalm, the minister in lectern or pulpit
Epistle with exposition (Law or Prophets could be substituted)
Gospel; sermon based on selection
Exhortation on meaning of Sacrament
Apostles' Creed (or psalm or hymn)
Exhortation to self-oblation
Salutation
Prayer of consecration, intercessions, Lord's Prayer with its Doxology
Exhortation
Words of Institution (Gospels and Paul)
Delivery and "Gott sey gelobet" sung during and and Communion
Salutation
Post-Communion
Blessing
Dismissal[45]

The two services (the Liturgy of the Word and the Liturgy of the Upper Room) of the Strasbourg German Service of 1537; the Strasbourg French Service of 1540; and the Genevan Service of 1542, along with Calvin's complete Strasbourg Service, are found in the Appendix. This more nearly indicates the changes, sometimes subtle, that were in process during these years of a search for new vehicles through which the church could express its faith in worship.

There are variations which appear, indicating the fact that several and varied influences were at work, and none was the work of one man.

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[45] Ibid., pp. 30-32.

In the Forms of Prayer for Geneva there is a service based on ancient liturgies which is not identical to the one traced from Strasbourg, though it is similar:

Approach
Invocation
Confession
Psalm (sung)
Prayer for illumination
Sermon
Prayer of Intercession
Lord's Prayer
Apostles' Creed
Prayer of approach
Words of Institution
Solemn warnings
Exhortation to examine selves; to seek salvation in Christ alone
Elements
Thanksgiving, dedication, blessing[46]

The influence of Strasbourg on the Geneva service is seen in such elements as

- the singing of psalms
- the similarities to Bucer's German service
- the preaching service as a complete whole, including confession, psalm singing, free prayer, a sermon, a general prayer, and the Lord's Prayer[47]

After his initial efforts in liturgy in Strasbourg, Calvin seemed more anxious to ensure an appropriate emo-

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[46]Wallace. op. cit., p. 242.

[47]Brilioth. op. cit., p. 173.

tional attitude and an intelligent participation on the part of the worshippers than to follow a rigid church tradition. He used a service based on ancient forms because he felt it best served these ends.[48] In the Institutes, liturgical details seem to be of little significance. He was fairly indifferent about distribution, whether the cup was returned to the deacon or handed to a neighbor, whether the bread was leavened or unleavened, or the wine red or white.

Ironically, it was an order of unleavened bread at the Lord's Supper which precipitated the expulsion of Calvin and Farel from Geneva in 1538.[49]

In the first edition of the Institutes a ritual for the weekly service is suggested:

Prayer, preaching
Bread and wine on the table
Institution
  The Lord's promises
  Excommunication of those forbidden to communicate
Prayer. Gifts received with true faith and thankfulness
Communion
  Accompanied by psalm singing or reading; whether kneeling or sitting is not clearly stated
Exhortation; loyal faith and witness, charity, manner of life worthy of a Christian

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[48]Wallace. op. cit., p. 242.

[49]Brilioth, op. cit., p. 173.

Thanksgiving and hymn of praise[50]

Maxwell quotes the following Sunday service as the "Calvinian rite":

Scripture sentence (Psalm 124:8, as in the Mass)
Confession of sins
Absolution
Decalogue in meter
  Kyries following each commandment
  The two tables divided by a collect for grace to keep God's law
Collect for illumination
Scripture
Sermon
Collection of alms
Intercession
Lord's Prayer
Apostles' Creed, in meter
Metrical psalm
Aaronic blessing

With Communion, the Lord's Prayer and Blessing were omitted, and the Prayer of Consecration followed the Creed, completed by the Lord's Prayer.

Then:

The Words of Institution
Fraction
Celebrants' Communion
Delivery to people, standing, during which a psalm was sung or scripture read
Post-Communion Thanksgiving
Nunc Dimittis
Aaronic Blessing[51]

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[50]Ibid., p. 172.

[51]Maxwell. The Book of Common Prayer and Non-Anglican Worship, p. 4.

This service was originally celebrated from the Communion Table; a later service had gravitated to the pulpit.

In the volume, Christian Worship, from which quotations appear earlier in this chapter, "Calvin's Liturgy" appears in this form:

Confession of Sins
Remission (or Absolution)
Metrical psalm, during which minister goes to the pulpit
Free prayer or Collect for Illumination
Scripture
Sermon
Return to Table
Prayer of Intercession; Lord's Prayer paraphrased
Apostles' Creed, sung, during which the minister prepares the Elements
Words of Institution
Serious exhortation, including excommunication of the unworthy
Prayer
Distribution
Admonition, not to linger by the Bread and Wine but to lift the heart to Christ who is in the glory of his Father
Hymn
Prayer of Thanksgiving
Nunc Dimittis
Benediction[52]

At the end of the meal a prayer of thanksgiving such as the following:

We thank thee, Holy Father, for thy holy name which thou hast caused to dwell in our hearts, and for the

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[52]Christian Worship, pp. 169, 170.

knowledge and faith and immortality which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy servant. Thou, Almighty Lord, didst create all things for thy name's sake. Thou didst give food and drink to men for their enjoyment, that they may give thanks unto thee, but to us thou hast granted spiritual food and drink and life eternal through thy servant. Above all we thank thee that thou art mighty. To thee be glory forever.

Remember, O Lord, thy church, to deliver her from all evil, and to protect her in thy love; and gather her together from four winds, sanctified, into thy kingdom, which thou hast prepared for her. For thine is the glory and the power forever.

Let grace come and let this world pass away. Hosanna to the God of David. If any is holy, let him come; if any is not, let him repent. Maranatha. Amen.[53]

It is the view of most sympathetic observers of the Reformation scene that the Reformers followed the mainstream of tradition, simplifying but remaining Catholic. For example, Calvin goes back to Schwarz and Bucer in Strasbourg, whose services are a translation and simplification of the Mass. Liturgical continuity is preserved and a true Eucharist is thus retained. There is a clearly traceable relationship from Schwarz's German Mass of 1524 to La Forme de Strasbourg of Bucer, to La Manyère de faire prières of Strasbourg in 1539 to La Forme of Calvin to the Book of Geneva to the Book of Common Order.[54]

There was through all of this a steady movement to-

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[53]Quoted in Christian Worship, p. 169.

[54]Ibid. p. 170.

ward an "evangelical" position in the Sunday morning service,[55] though to use the term evangelical is fraught with difficulty. It seems always to have had as many meanings as the number of persons using it--from "high" to "low," in almost every denominational framework.

Vestments were retained, but not their sacerdotal significance. The minister faced the people throughout the service and no longer turned at any time to the "Table," which had replaced the altar. Ceremonial decreased while sermon lengths increased. The "Kalendar" was replaced and the liturgical year unacknowledged except for the principal festivals.

Calvin's service has sometimes been erroneously referred to as a perpetuation of the Prone, a short vernacular service inserted into the Mass and said from the pulpit. It usually consisted of the Lord's Prayer, sermon, bidding prayers, the Apostles' Creed, and sometimes an exhortation before the Prayer of Consecration. This was fairly common on the Continent in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

## The Roman Mass

To follow the history and development of the Mass of

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[55] Genevan Service Book, p. 31.

the Roman rite is an enormous study in itself. Its earliest beginnings have been noted in Chapter I in a brief tracing of the history of the use of the sacraments in ecclesiastical history. For the purposes of comparison necessary to this study, the following version of the Mass and a review of the service as contained in the Missal will suffice. The first is the service adopted shortly after the Council of Trent and revised in 1570, the first attainment of uniformity in the Mass:

Introit — Choir
Kyrie--nine-fold
Entry of ministers
Psalm 43:4 as antiphon and Gloria
Psalm 124:8
Confiteor and Misereatur of Celebrant to Ministers
Confiteor and Misereatur of Ministers to Celebrant
Versicles and responses from psalms
Collects Aufer a nobis and Oramus te
Blessing of incense and censing of altar and Ministers
Gloria in excelsis said secretly by Minister, sung by the choir
Salutation and Collects of the day, after which the Celebrant says the Epistle and gradual silently
Tract or Sequence (if any), sung by the choir while Prayers and Preparation for the Gospel are said:
Munda cor meum
Jube domine benedicere
Dominus sit incorde tuo
Salutation, announcement of the Gospel, and Ministers' response
Gloria tibi; Domine
Gospel recited in low tone
Response by Ministers
Laus tibi Christe
} By Celebrant

The above repeated except for addition of
Celebrant's blessing by Deacon

The Gospel, with lights and incense, sung by
Deacon and responses sung by Ministers
Preacher goes to Pulpit
Intimations
Bidding prayers
Epistle and Gospel in the vernacular
Sermon
Nicene Creed (sung as Gloria in Excelsis)
Salutation and bidding to prayer, but no
vocal prayer.[56]

The following is the Roman Mass as set forth in The Liturgy of the Roman Rite, which first appeared in German. The authors state that the only division of the Mass that is justifiable both historically and objectively is the Mass of the Catechumens and the Mass of the Faithful, from the Offertory to the end:

Accessus - preparatory prayer by the priest
Prayers at the Foot of the Altar
Confession, plea for forgiveness
Ascent of the Altar Steps
Oramus te said on arrival at Altar; kissing
Altar as an act of reverence
Incensation
Old Testament type; an honoring of the Altar
and further hallowing before the sacrificial
action
Introit, Kyria, Gloria, Collects
Scripture Readings. The Epistle
(The oldest part of the Mass of the
Catechumens)
Chants between Readings
Gradual
Alleluia
Sequence

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[56]Maxwell. Outline of Christian Worship. pp. 68, 69.

Tract - a psalm sung without refrain
Gospel
Sermon
Credo (Nicene)
Offertory
Prayer of the Faithful
The Matter of the Sacrifice
Wheaten bread and wine, symbolizing fullest self-surrender; the mixing of water with wine the union of the faithful with Christ
Presentation of the Offerings
First the presentation of bread and wine by the people themselves; since the sixteenth century, the subdeacon brings the Chalice and Paten to the Altar
Offertory Chant
Offertory Prayers
Incensation
Washing of the Hands
Secret - oblation prayer
The Eucharistic Prayer
(Enshrines the consecration)
Preface and Sanctus
Canon
The prayer in which the sacrifice is performed regularly
Prayers of the Canon before Consecration
Te igitur - prayer to receive offerings
Memento vivorum - prayer for the living
Communicantes
Hanc igitur - an old independent prayer, a formula whereby an oblation on a special occasion was offered and commended to God
Quam oblationem - final request for the blessing of the oblata; that the offering may be consecrated to God
Consecration
Not a prayer; included in the historical account of the Institution. St. Ambrose said, "It is Christ himself who declares (through the priest), 'This is my body.'"
Elevation
The most prominent rite of the Institution
Prayers of the Canon after the Consecration
Unde et memores (anamnesis). "Do this in remembrance of me."
Supra quae. Invoking the sacrifice of Abel, Abraham, and Melchisedek

Supplices te rogamus. Prayer that the sacrifice may yield the faithful rich fruits in Holy Communion
Memento defunctorum
Remembrance of the dead, who are commended to the divine mercy
Nobis quoque peccatoribus
Request that the celebrant and his servers may share in the beatitude of the saints
Per quem haec omnia
The wish of the Church to gain everything for which she has prayed. A second (or little) elevation, originally a final sacrificial gesture, summing up the Eucharistic act.

The Communion
Pater Noster, Embolism (Libera nos, qualsumus, or insertion)
Breaking of the Bread, mixing Bread and Wine
Agnus Dei
Kiss of Peace
Preparatory prayers before Communion
Communion
Communion Chant - during priest's communion
Postcommunion

The End of the Mass
Dismissal
Placeat. Post-blessing prayer derived from private devotion
Last Blessing
Last Gospel
Recession[57]

The liturgies outlined on the preceding pages, if examined in parallel position, would be found to have more in common with each other than to differ in significant ways, from Calvin's earliest "cave service" to the Roman

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[57]Ludwig Eisenhofer and Joseph Lechner. The Liturgy of the Roman Rite. New York: Herder and Herder, 1953. Translated by A. J. and E. F. Peeler, 1961.

Catholic Mass. The Protestant service of Holy Communion, particularly as it developed in the churches dominated by the teachings of Calvin, moved continuously toward an increasing simplicity; yet there remained an essential agreement as to the centrality of the sacrament and the presence and reception of Christ in and through the elements of bread and wine.

The differences which arose and have been maintained, however, must be considered. But it is arresting to find that in the central issue, the nature of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, there was the sharpest divergence and the strongest accord. It was Calvin who attempted to find a middle way that would alienate neither the Catholic nor Zwinglian extremes. This did not permit him to affirm the physical presence of Christ in the wafer and the wine, but neither could he divest himself of the conviction that the "real presence" of Christ was found in and through the Holy Communion. He did not understand it as a physical presence, but actual nonetheless.

As the Protestant movement strengthened its emphasis on preaching, insisting that it was as essential as the sacraments, the forms of worship used by the churches of the Reform moved toward a wider divergence from the ritual of the Mass. The trend was in the direction of simplicity and by the end of the century the Holy Communion of the Reform had only slight resemblance to its forebear, the Mass.

## CHAPTER V

## JOHN KNOX AND THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION

Controversial figures in any age are not remembered or understood or commented on with any great degree of objectivity. That they are controversial and give rise to argument is witness to the fact that they were on the growing edge of ideas in their own generations, and were lending creative thought to a changing situation, whether there was agreement with them or not. They had their adherents and their adversaries, and in the case of John Knox, he has them still.

Knox had a public reputation for intemperance, violence, and verbal excesses. His supporters will unfailingly point out justifiable reasons for his behavior and find no blemish in him. Those whose sentiment lies in other directions will call him ruthless, rude, and sometimes unreliable.

He remains a central character to be dealt with in the Reformation century.

### Life of Knox

Ill-kept records of the period leave the circumstances of Knox's early years somewhat in question. He may have been born in 1505, or it may have been somewhere be-

tween 1513 and 1515. He was the son of William Knox; his mother's maiden name was Sinclair but her Christian name is unknown. It is likely that Knox later had a stepmother. Of his ancestors nothing is recorded. Though it was a period when almost every Scotsman claimed kinship with the King, Knox proudly claimed to be a "man of base estate and condition." He likely came from peasant farmer stock, but married an Englishwoman who was distantly related to the Queen.

His birthplace probably was in an outlying area of Haddington. He had a brother, William, for whom Knox, because he was a notary, procured a license to trade in England as owner of a one-hundred-ton ship. Since vessels of this size were very few, the brother apparently was a relatively prosperous man.[1]

Nothing certain is known of Knox's education. A John Knox was in the University of Glasgow in 1522, but it could not have been the Reformer unless the earlier birth date is accurate. Beze, friend of Calvin, seemed to have information that the Scotsman was a St. Andrews man. If the latter is true, he was in a place where the progress of new religious ideas was discussed freely.

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[1]Andrew Lang. John Knox and the Reformation. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1905. pp. 4, 5.

Knox's opponents have enjoyed the scandal concerning his youth, which has been characterized as full of wild oats. If this is true, we do not find him full of remorseful confession. He is silent about any early adventures, as well as the circumstances of his conversion. He took orders, likely learning Greek and Hebrew later in life. As a priest he probably would have examined Lutheran books brought from Holland; would have read the Bible and would have failed to discover there Purgatory, pilgrimages, pardons, the intercession of Saints, and other accessories of the medieval church. Clerical ignorance and corruption in Scotland was fairly gross, as painful to staunch Romans as it was to incipient reformers. Many priests were barely literate, monks were debauched and rolled in wealth, while churches were permitted to decay. Lawlessness was rampant; Mary of Guise wrote of general recalcitrance at law and order--but Scotland had never been known particularly for order or godliness.[2]

Early in his battle, Knox takes up the Mass as being the symbol, the embodiment of everything he hated in the degraded church in Scotland in that period. The wafer was an idol, a "god of water and meal" that can be destroyed by a "bold and puissant mouse." He speaks of having been in

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[2]Ibid., pp. 7, 8.

the "puddle of papistry;" that he became a priest and notary merely that he might "eat a morsel of bread;" that he had not had any real convictions until he had read the Protestant controversialists, Augustine, the Bible, and George Wishart. With that he began his ceaseless war against "mumbled masses," "rites of human invention." Having become convinced of what he regarded as truth, there is never any open evidence that he could have been mistaken; he had an invincible faith and enormous energy.

In appearance he was not unattractive: somewhat below medium height, broad shoulders, long fingers, black hair, swarthy skin. He had a congeniality which combined with his air of command. His eyes were keen and lively, his face and nose long, his beard long and thick and black. Pictures portray an air of a broad-minded and genial character.

His errors arose not from petty or personal rancor, but because he honestly believed he was right and used stringent methods to force his own views of the Early Church and to try to establish a second Geneva in his own country. Along with other controversialists, he used isolated and inappropriate scripture with remarkable inconsistency.

Knox is first known as a public figure when he appears as the constant companion of George Wishart, who was

preaching the "new ideas" in small congregations in Haddington. Wishart, in his European travels, seems to have visited the Swiss churches, unlike the early Scottish martyr to the Reform, Patrick Hamilton, who had learned his message at the University of Marburg from Luther's associates. Wishart translated the Genevan Confession of 1536 and brought to Scotland a version of the Reformation which appealed more powerfully to the Scottish mind than either the "low temperatures" of the Lutherans or the prudent compromises of Anglicanism.[3] His first activities when he returned home were harmless enough. In the summer of 1542 he was reading with pupils at Cambridge, and then went on to Scotland. He could have expected to preach freely since peace between Scotland and Protestant England was secure at this point. Arran, the Scottish regent, was then a Protestant, but he suddenly recanted and imprisoned those who had led attacks on the monasteries in Dundee.

Henry of Navarre, concerned about Scotland's reversion, prepared to invade the country and possibly planned with Wishart to kidnap or murder Cardinal Beaton. It was common to accept the death--even by murder--of an opponent because it was for the sake of a religious cause and those

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[3]Eustace Percy. John Knox. Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1956, p. 27.

in error had forfeited their lives by flagrant crimes against the laws of God and society. Knox has been accused of positive glee over the murder of an enemy.[4]

Beaton was murdered and Wishart was condemned to death for his involvement in the affair. Knox in his History vents his rage at the death of his teacher.[5] The young adherent of Wishart returns in 1546 to tutor the sons of the lairds of Langniddrie and Ormiston, Protestants of the English party, and in 1547 we find him in the Castle of St. Andrews when it was threatened by an English siege. He had drawn up a catechism for his pupils and preached; and meanwhile there was a siege of the castle by anywhere from sixteen to twenty-one French galleys. After the fall of St. Andrews, Knox was a prisoner in the galleys. He wrote that they were to be free to live in France or could be conveyed to any country they wished except Scotland. The Pope had insisted on the siege and its severity, according to Knox. Certainly this experience brought "torment" as he puts it, but he received letters, commented on a treatise, and wrote theology. His health was impaired by the time he was released in February or March of 1549. In April he was

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[4] Ibid., pp. 42, 43.

[5] John Knox. History of the Reformation in Scotland. 1559-1571. pp. 52 ff.

in England, safe as long as Edward VI lived.[6]

In England from 1549 to 1554, he was licensed by the State to preach at Berwick. To be a cleric as an agent of governmental administration would be completely against his later conscience. But he was indifferent to the opinions of rulers, and took his own course. For example, one of the things which consistently brought out his greatest rages was kneeling at Holy Communion. Thus in spite of the rubrics of the Prayer Book of Edward VI, he bade his congregation sit. He verbally accepted civil authority and obeyed it to the extent that his conditions were met.

Cranmer, who was Primate then, spoke of Knox's arrogance, and denounced "glorious and unquiet spirits which can like nothing but that is after their own fancy, and cease not to make trouble and disquietude when things be most quiet and in good order." He challenged Knox's doctrine as being untrue.[7]

Knox was transferred to Newcastle as King's Chaplain in 1550, but not before he had become engaged to the daughter of one Mrs. Bowes. The friendship was with the mother; the marriage was to the daughter, Marjorie, some years later.

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[6]Lang. op. cit., pp. 22-31.

[7]Ibid., pp. 34-35.

In Newcastle, Knox preached against idolatry, his favorite subject, against papists, against the Queen. He declined an official post because he was at such odds with the Church of England that he felt safer from persecution if he received no benefices. Charges were brought against him, nonetheless, for his Christmas sermon of 1552 in which he accused Papists of thirsting for the King's death.

Shortly after the death of Edward VI and the accession of Mary Tudor, Knox went to Dieppe. Reasons for this flight were not completely clear, even to Knox. Fear of persecution or death undoubtedly entered into it, but he had also just had an unpleasant time with his fiancéé's family, all of whom, except for her mother, felt the match was a poor one.[8]

From Dieppe Knox went to Geneva to consult Calvin, then to Zurich to question Bullinger, and back to Dieppe, where he wrote pamphlets concerning religious and political conditions in England, which, needless to say, were regrettable. The Queen was an idolator and a persecutor, and treason was a right of the citizen, to Knox's mind. One publication was a direct appeal for the Queen's assassination, and later he calls for a general doing away with all

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[8]Geddes MacGregor. The Thundering Scot. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1951, pp. 64, 65.

idolaters. Such opinions, written when Knox was safe on the other side of the Channel, naturally placed his Protestant English brothers in a difficult position; their later behavior toward him revealed their resentment and their wish to separate themselves from his harshness. It is true that persecution increased markedly after Knox's well-aimed admonitions.[9]

Some of those who were refugees from this persecution in England came to Frankfurt to seek safety. Knox was there too, now minister to the English refugee congregation. He and his Anglican community were at odds again, this time over the Prayer Book. They consulted Calvin who replied that for them to quarrel over it was absurd. It was a Puritan-Anglican dissent and marks the beginning of the eventual complete break between the Church of England and Puritanism, Presbyterianism, and the Dissenters.

Because of sharp differences in the Frankfurt parish, Knox was dismissed and he returned to Geneva where, for a time, he enjoyed the "rest of quiet study." But he was shortly sent for by Mrs. Bowes. His cautiousness made him reluctant to return to England. Mary Tudor was regent in England and Mary of Guise in Scotland. Knox feared them

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[9]Ibid., pp. 72, 73; Lang. op. cit., pp. 46-51.

both, for he was sure that their strong Catholic alliances would be his undoing.[10]

He returned, however, going first to the home of Mrs. Bowes and then to Edinburgh, where he enjoyed "the fervency of the godly" and found some supporters. When he discovered their conformity to the Mass, probably in an effort to avoid trouble, he began again to storm against idolatry. His sole justification for his attitude about exterminating "Baal worship" was found in the unfortunate Old Testament analogy of the destruction of Amalekites, and Elijah's slaughter of the prophets of Baal.

In 1556 Knox was called to Geneva as minister to an English congregation. He took with him his wife, as Marjorie Bowes had now become, and her mother. The church at Geneva was a joy to him--one of the few things in his life in which he took genuine pleasure. He wrote, "Manners and religion so sincerely reformed I have not yet seen in any other place." It was a Protestant city-state, a Calvinist Utopia, where the attention of preachers and magistrates was on every aspect of daily living.

In 1557 he began a return trip to Scotland at the request of some of the lords of the land. When he arrived in Dieppe, news was discouraging: dissent between Mary and

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[10]MacGregor. op. cit., p. 76.

the dissident noblemen; border raids between England and Scotland as a result of the war between France and Spain (Scotland's alliance with France led to complications with England); and, most unsettling, the whisper of a plotted Protestant rebellion against the throne. The latter Calvin had spoken against strongly.

Knox had received the request to return to Scotland in May, but did not leave Geneva until September and arrived in Dieppe a month later. He was dawdling; obviously he did not want to go. And he used the untoward circumstances in Scotland, which he attributed to Satan, to present excuses for not getting on to Scotland. He was in Dieppe until March of 1558, preaching, writing, and establishing a Protestant church. But he was having trouble explaining the reasons for his behavior. He had left his family to respond to a cry from Scotland, but here he was in Dieppe; he was fearful that his unwillingness to go to his native land in a time of turbulence was not just ordinary fear and had little to do with his conscience about uprisings, or even Satan. Meanwhile, he was writing letters to the church in Scotland as well as his famous "First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women."[11] One wonders whether he had an image of himself

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[11]Elizabeth Whitley. Plain Mr. Knox. Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1960, pp. 103-104.

as a second St. Paul.

In the spring of 1558 Knox returned to Geneva, still writing home to Scotland as revolution continued to threaten; and to England, when Mary Tudor died, he wrote "A Brief Exhortation to England for the Spedie Embrasing of Christ's Gospel heretofore by the Tyrannie of Marie Suppressed and Banished." As Lang points out, it was far more Knox's gospel than Christ's, "absolute, intolerant, and intolerable." He had fled a bad situation--not yet "ripe" for martyrdom, as he had put it--but found it not too difficult to be quite harsh with a small Protestant minority who had remained among a Catholic majority, and who likely felt no more ready for martyrdom than he did. He required the expulsion of Popery and "vain ceremonies" and the establishment of Genevan (and Knoxian) church discipline.

In November of 1558 the nobles again asked Knox to return to Scotland. He had heard that Protestants now ran no risks, that the Queen was considering reforming religion, and that there had been a riot at St. Giles Cathedral. The riot was a fact; the rest was a stretching of the truth. Nevertheless Knox set out again for a visit. In Dieppe he found that Elizabeth had denied his safe conduct through England, which was some indication of the state of affairs as they actually were. However, the journey was accomplished, and when he arrived in Scotland he wrote to the

church in Dieppe, scolding the people for their laxity in permitting idolatry in their midst. His behavior there was exasperating to the church's leadership; Morel, a leading French pastor, wrote to Calvin about Knox's lack of judgment and expressed fear that he would "fill Scotland with his madness."

In May the Reformer had arrived in Edinburgh, but he was in disfavor at once. It was the beginnin of the period of sacking churches and monasteries in Scotland. The circumstances and those responsible varied with each telling of the story. There was a great deal of destructive, rebellious behavior on the part of the Protestants. The loss in treasures, architecture, literature, and art of Scotland of that period is incalculable.

While Knox was on the Continent he attempted to obtain Bullinger's and Calvin's sympathy for and adherence to his own extreme ideas. He failed in this, for they not only disagreed with his harsh measures and methods, but were annoyed and possibly even disgusted by them. Thus his teaching concerning the free use of the sword against tyrants was entirely his own, and did not have the support or approval of the Swiss leaders.

The purpose of Knox and the other Scottish reformers went beyond merely the desire to secure freedom and toleration; rather, their attempt was to obliterate the religious

views which they opposed so vehemently. This was the religion which existed by law, the creed of those in authority. Thus those who attempted so-called religious reform were not just religious enthusiasts, but political rebels. On the other hand, Calvin's view was that monarchs were God's appointed servants, and that the Gospel should not be supported by battle. Knox would have dealt in extermination quite happily, but fortunately he and his supporters felt an obligation to defer to the opinions of the Continental leaders. Publicly, therefore, Knox asserted that nothing more than freedom of conscience was sought; but in fact he was involved in intrigue which would deprive Mary Stuart of her "rights," thus altering the authority of the nation. M'Crie writes that it was difficult for Knox to maintain integrity and "Christian simplicity" in a political situation.[12]

In 1560 Knox retired to private life to study because of the judgment of others that he had been too extreme. In the same year Mary of Guise died, after which the Treaty of Edinburgh dismissed all French forces from the country. Thereafter the Convention of Estates achieved religious settlement, but whether or not it was lawful remained questionable even when it was in progress. Mini-

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[12]Quoted by Lang. op. cit., p. 159.

sters were appointed to churches (Knox to Edinburgh) and by July 20 an anti-Catholic church, as Lang calls it, was established. The clergy wrote to the nobility asking for freedom and liberty of conscience and a "godly reformation of abuses," by which they meant abolition of Catholic doctrine, including punishment for transgressors.[12]

The new church drew up a Confession which was quickly ratified. It stated its base as Scripture interpreted by the "spirit of God" and wondrously did not claim infallibility. But it omitted obedience to the sovereign power, and included suppression of idolatry and superstition, by which probably was meant the English liturgy, among other things. The conscience of the Kirk is supreme. All participants in the Mass are of course subject to punishment.

The doctrine of the Confession was Calvinistic: the invisible church consisting of the Elect, "known only to God;" the Sacrament is not the natural body of Christ, but in the right use of the Lord's Supper, the communicant so eats the body and drinks the blood that they are in Christ and he in them. This approaches being as mystical and confessional as the Mass, but the source (Calvin) was incontrovertible and heresy or idolatry could not be charged against him.

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[13] Ibid., pp. 163-170.

The Book of Discipline, similar to that of Calvin, appeared in 1560. One glance was sufficient to indicate that the Anglican and Scottish communions would never be one.

Each congregation had a right to elect its own minister, but they were cautioned by Knox to be extremely careful in selection. The clergy were subject to periodic trial. Training was not mentioned, but moral character looms large. Congregations were asked not only to respect their ministers but to obey them implicitly, amounting to clerical rule and tyranny over the State. A reign of despotism set in.

Education grew up alongside the church and was intended to be universal; each church had a schoolmaster who taught grammar and Latin. Able children of the poor were to be provided for through a university education.

The first General Assembly met on December 20, 1560. It passed an act against lawless love and encouraged the Privy Council to punish idolaters--an idolater by this time understood to be one in dispute with Knox. In January, 1561, a convention of nobles and lords (lairds in Scotland) looked at the Book of Discipline and some signed it, thereby declaring acceptance, but there was naturally a dispute between the signers and partisans of Mary Stuart.

The following three years were a constant state of

embattlement between Knox and Queen Mary. He might be said actually to have harrassed the sovereign--and in his own judgment he was always right, of course, whether his disagreement was with a parishioner or the head of state. The record is fairly shocking; a fair-minded observer, then or now, would be quite certain that the cause of Reform would have been far better served with large measures of gentility, reasoned and reasonable intelligence, and mediation. What obtained were rude and thoughtless expressions full of emotion, often angry, threatening, discordant. Some biographers of Knox face what apparently was his mishandling of people and situations; others soften the blow, and remind the reader that he was gentle at home. But that was hardly a help to the Queen, her lords, or the health of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland.[14]

Nevertheless, despite his offensiveness, often both to Catholics and Protestants, he was clearly the most powerful man in Scotland. Queen Mary seems even to have considered marrying him as the most desirable of other less seemly alliances, politically, at least.

Knox's first wife, Marjorie Bowes, died in 1561. He wrote that he was "in no small heaviness by reason of [her]

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[14]Cf. Thomas McCrie. The Life of John Knox (abridged). Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1843, pp. 134-143.

late death" but little else is known of her, except that she lightened his load considerably by helping with heavy correspondence.

He was married again in 1564 to Margaret Stewart, daughter of Lord Ochiltree, a lady of royal blood. She was perhaps sixteen--a fact not mentioned by some of Knox's biographers; but the marriage evidently was a happy one.

In the General Assembly of 1564, the Lords of the Congregation, aloof from the others, discussed Knox's behavior. He was "invited" to "moderate himself," particularly where the Queen was concerned. Knox used the opportunity to call up Ahab and Jezebel in discourses that continued his personal war against idolatry and rebellion.[15]

At the Assembly, Knox was requested to write to Calvin and leaders of other Kirks for opinion on the Queen's Mass and whether it was lawful for her subjects to take it away from her. Knox refused; he knew what their judgments were, they knew he knew, and to ask again would only indicate either his ignorance or forgetfulness. He suggested that his opponents write their complaints against him, but no one bothered. Knox had skillfully defended himself, with the reminder that the leaders on the Continent had ap-

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[15]Cf. Percy. op. cit., pp. 299ff.

proved his coming to Scotland. Knox had actually written to Calvin three years earlier asking his views on resisting civil power, but the Genevan's answer was never acknowledged in any way. It can only be assumed that Calvin and Knox were not in agreement and the Scotsman would not admit it.

Earlier, Knox had written a long tract (if 450 pages can be called a tract) against Anabaptists and in behalf of the English exiles in Geneva. In it he declared obedience to civil authority and stated that "chosen saints" would not lift a hand against oppressors. But he was not known for his consistency and contradictory opinions in his statements are in fairly frequent supply.

Knox cannot be termed an intellectual, no matter how far the term is stretched. In order to establish what he thought was a Christian era in a Christian country, he raged in terms of the harsh and war-like habits attributed to early Israel, when war and devastation against the enemy was for the purpose of establishing the worship of Jehovah as against the pluralities of deities with which they were surrounded.[16]

The Queen was considered a possible candidate for conversion from the beginning of her reign, though in her

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[16]Lang. op. cit. pp. 243, 244.

first conversation with Knox she had said she would maintain her own faith. In 1566 she put it in writing; a statement was issued that her subjects could worship as they would, but she would retain her own religion. The General Assembly issued a service for a general fast to last for a month, seemingly because of this statement.

In February of 1566 there was rumor of an alliance involving Mary, the Pope, the King of Spain, the Duke of Savoy, the Emperor, and others. Probably Mary was asking the Pope and Spain for money, but of evidence of an actual league there was none.

Mary began to fear for her life after the murder of Riccio, one of her counselors, following her declaration, and fled to Dunbar from Holyrood. The people were by this time with her and against the Reformers. Knox was literally and figuratively on his knees. The Queen was more secure in her position than she had been before. Knox berates himself as ambitious and proud, and repents that in quiet he is negligent, in trouble impatient, and tends toward desperation. He fled from Edinburgh to Kyre in Ayrshire, praying meanwhile for the safety of his wife and children, among them the sons of his first wife.

Despite the support of the people in religious matters, Mary fell from the throne after six years of being in-

sulted and thwarted, perplexed by Elizabeth from the English throne, whose position the Scottish queen coveted, ill and in pain, and without a true friend except for Mary Seton who rode with her when she was taken prisoner.

Mary's fall meant the triumph of Protestantism in Scotland, but strangely, the diminishing prominence of Knox. The General Assembly of 1567 was poorly attended; its chief act was a vow that all future princes would declare allegiance to the "true religion," which was defined from passages in Kings and Deuteronomy.

James VI was crowned in July, 1567, and Knox preached at the service, as well as at the opening of Parliament later in the same year. He had by this time lost some of his truculence against Anglicanism and had sent his sons to Cambridge where they had acquired Anglican sympathies.[17]

But in ensuing years he was quite neglected and unhappy. His personal situation was only worsened by a proposal to restore Mary to the throne. And to him it had been sufficient ill that her life had been spared.

One outlet was his correspondence with the English Puritans who in 1566 had been removed from their positions and were worshipping in woods and in private homes. They were using the Genevan Book of Common Order and Her

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[17]Percy. op. cit., p. 332.

Majesty's Government was in opposition. Both sides consulted Geneva. Calvin had died, but Bèza and his Genevan colleagues remained arbiters in matters Reformed. Bèza replies that none of the story which had reached him justified schism and he enjoined patience with each other and obedience to civil authority. Geneva seems by this time to have grown weary of the English Puritans and the Scots Presbyterians and their arguments. Knox's advice agreed on the whole with Bèza's, though he may have been a little more inclined toward sympathy for the persecuted Puritans than the Swiss were. Puritans visited Scotland and Knox urged conformity, at least for the time. Hardly the same firebrand heard from not too many years earlier. He may not have wanted to irritate Elizabeth since Mary was now free; or he may actually have mellowed.

During his last, quieter years, Knox and his family spent some time in St. Andrews. He was by now quite feeble following a stroke and leaned on a cane on one side and his secretary, Bannatyne, on the other, as he walked about St. Leonard's College urging the students to be faithful Protestants. He preached again on the prophet Daniel, partly moderate, partly denouncing, and still asserting that the Pope was the "last Beast."

In 1572 Knox returned to Edinburgh and to the pulpit at St. Giles Cathedral during August and September. News

of the St. Bartholomew massacre reached the Scottish church in late August. This of course was denounced and the King declared a murderer. But at a Protestant convention in October a proposal was put forward that all Catholics in Scotland should recant their religion publicly or be banished; or, if they remained in the country, could lawfully be put to death. This fortunately did not become an actuality.[18]

In November of the same year a Mr. Lawson was inducted into Knox's place, by Knox, in St. Giles. This was his last public appearance. The congregation came to him at his request a few days after the induction and he told them he had never hated anyone personally; he had hated only error.

This condensed account does not attempt to weave in the enormous amount of political and ecclesiastical intrigue that was going on throughout the period of the establishing of Protestantism in Scotland. Only those events and persons are referred to which make the story as complete and sensible as possible without an enormous amount of detail which would do nothing to enhance the study and its basic purpose.

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[18]Lang. *op. cit.*, pp. 268-271.

## The Place of Holy Communion in Scottish Reformed Worship

In the preceding section occasional reference has been made to the manner and concept of worship in Scotland as the Reform movement developed and took hold. One of the central issues, as throughout the Reformation movement, was the Holy Communion, what it meant, its significance, and how it was to be delivered and received. Here it will be treated as a separate entity in relation to the pattern of worship which grew up and what part the Lord's Supper had therein; what the Scottish views had to do with neighboring Anglican concepts; and the continuation or dismissal of Continental patterns.

Knox's deep admiration of Calvin has been noted. Knox found Geneva to be closer to what he considered perfection (the "most perfect school of Christ" in his terms) than anyplace he found. He took back to Scotland with him his own version of the Genevan Service Book. Perhaps the greatest differences that will be found are in attitude rather than in form.

### Worship. Historical Background

The watchword was simplicity, and equally valued was adherence to the Scriptures.[19] Simple or not, it could be

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[19]Cf. Directory of the Reformed Church of Scotland.

a moving experience. In Sir Walter Scott's Rob Roy there is a description of the joy and freedom in Protestant worship as a young Englishman accompanies a Scots friend to the Kirk and records his response in a letter:

> All nature, as invoked by the Psalmist, whose verses they chanted, seemed united in offering that solemn praise in which trembling is mixed with joy as she addressed her Maker. I have heard the service of High Mass in France, celebrated with all the éclat which the choicest music, the richest dresses, the most imposing ceremonies could confer on it; yet it fell short in effect of the simplicity of the Presbyterian worship. The devotion, in which everyone took a share, seemed so superior to that which was recited by musicians as a lesson they had learned by rote, that it gave the Scottish worship all the advantage of reality over acting.[20]

The simplicity established by and through the Reform came out of a history of particularly close ties between Rome and Scotland, as much because of the desire to be rid of the English Crown and church as anything else. They allowed the claims of the Papacy but their strongest desire was their own independence, national and religious, dominated neither by an English King nor a Roman Pope.[21]

In the eleventh century, Queen Margaret, wife of Malcolm III, who was born in Hungary, evidenced zealous concern to "cleanse, strengthen, and maintain" the Scottish church, which she was seeing as in need of reform at that

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[20]Quoted in Christian Worship, p. 164.

[21]William D. Maxwell. A History of Worship in the Church of Scotland. London: Geoffrey Cumberledge, Oxford University Press, 1936 (revised, 1949), p. 28.

early juncture. They were using the vernacular Mass (ritus barbarus) so that the uneducated could understand. But the Eucharist was for centuries celebrated infrequently, once a year having become quite common.

Margaret introduced the rite based on that used in York since the Scottish Episcopate was subject to the Archbishop of York, seeking thereby to establish liturgical uniformity.

After Margaret's time there was an increasing use of the Sarum rite (cf. Chapter I) in Scotland, which established more uniformity (never complete, of course) than the York rite had done and it continued in use for more than three centuries. Liturgical uniformity is thought by Maxwell to be a Reformed concept little known before the sixteenth century.[22] As evidence he quotes from the Book of Common Prayer: "Whereas there hath been great diversity in saying and singing in churches within this realm . . . now from henceforth, all the whole realm shall have but one use."

But "one use" never did become reality. It is possible that Celtic worship continued until the fourteenth century, though the Celtic monasteries were absorbed into the Augustinian order in the twelfth century.[23]

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[22] Ibid., p. 30.

[23] Ibid., p. 31.

A "great church" in Scotland during the medieval period would have celebrated High Mass according to the Sarum Rite, known for its use of Scripture, which was woven into the service through psalmody, prayers and propers. The decline in the use of the latter was regarded by Maxwell as the greatest scriptural loss of the Reformation. In the Sarum Rite music was a superb vehicle of devotion, and it was a disciplined service, without excesses, which moved dramatically. It, however, was removed from the people by its use of Latin, though the sermon was in the vernacular; and by its greatness, which limited its use to large churches.

So the habit of saying a low Mass with one celebrant grew up out of necessity in the small churches. No trained singers were required, no large staff, and it could be accomplished quickly. But it degenerated into an inaudible, mysterious, incomprehensible action performed by one on behalf of others. This was the low ebb of pre-Reformation worship in Scotland, as elsewhere. Sermons were seldom preached, ignorance and superstition grew, and the service became careless and irreverent.

Development in the Sixteenth Century

In August of 1560, the Scottish Parliament ended the jurisdiction of the Pope and the Reformed Church became the

national church. The influences that were brought to bear on Reformation worship in Scotland were at first English and later Genevan.

The first service book used by Scottish Protestants was the Book of Common Prayer, the 1552 edition. As indicated in the previous section, this had been influenced by John Knox, at least to the extent of his objection to the rubric concerning the kneeling at the Holy Communion. This was the second book of Edward VI and Knox approved it to the extent of recommending it to the congregation at Berwick. Its use was a means of creating the appearance of unity between the Scottish Reformed group and the English Protestants who had given their northern neighbors encouragement, support, and protection. It would have appeared to be a permanent part of Scottish worship.

But Elizabeth began to exercise rigid authority (perhaps only her rights as Queen) and the Scots would have none of it. They did not disagree at this point, but they demanded the freedom to frame their own services according to their views in the event occasion or circumstances demanded it.

When Knox returned to Scotland from England the use of Calvinian rites began. Calvin as a force in the Scottish church came directly through Knox, who circulated the writings of the Genevan. The first Confession of Faith,

primarily the work of Knox, damns those who affirm the Sacraments to be nothing but "naked and bare signes." Here is Calvin in Scottish terms.

The preceding section indicates Knox's use on the Continent of an English translation of Calvin's Genevan service, which, when brought to Scotland, became ultimately the Book of Common Order and was adopted by the General Assembly in 1562. It was referred to as a liturgy; the word at that point brought no fright or terror to a Scots Protestant.

It differed in the ways more or less common to all the Reformation movement--use of the vernacular, with appeal to the ear rather than the eye; congregational participation; the psalms in metrical form and using common tunes; use of music in the parish church; the "basilican posture," or standing behind the altar (Table) rather than in front of it and facing it; restoration of corporate worship, expressed most strongly in communicating around a common table (this quite peculiar to Scotland); translation of the Scriptures; restoration of preaching--to the extent of one-hour sermons; weekly communion recommended, but a monthly service or less in practice. Service books were made available to the people, since literacy was now more common. (This was done by Rome as well after the Council of Trent.)

In addition there was the omission of responses; the Holy Communion was established as the normative worship of the church; creeds were central to a knowledge of the Reformed faith and were taught to children along with the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer.[24]

The origins of the Book of Common Order were found in Frankfurt at the time Knox was minister there to the Marian exiles from England. Though they were Calvinian, they preferred the Book of Common Prayer, and when Knox was removed over that controversy, he went to Geneva where a successor to the Frankfurt effort was drawn up, the first Reformed rite in the English language. Its title is formidable: The Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, etc., used in the English Congregation at Geneva, and approved by the famous and godly learned man, John Calvin. There was later a Latin translation of it for scholars who could not read English.

The Forme of Prayers derived directly from Calvin's La Forme des Prières, but is not a literal translation. Knox's independence is detectable, and the influence of the Book of Common Prayer is distinct, particularly in the ex-

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[24]Cf. Maxwell. A History of Worship in the Church of Scotland, pp. 32-45; Stephen A. Hurlbut. The Liturgy of the Church of Scotland. Part I. Calvin's Liturgy. Washington: The St. Albans Press, 1944, pp. 1-4.

hortation before the Holy Communion and in the marriage service.[25]

The liturgy of the Book of Common Order was in general use for about eighty-five years following its acceptance by the General Assembly. Prayers were added in successive editions, but the general form remained the same. The Confession of Faith of 1560 made the perceptive statement that ceremonies could not be appointed for all ages. The first proposals for revision came in 1601, the result of English Puritan influence, but none was made until the time of King James in 1612.

Administration of the Lord's Supper

The greatest difference in the administration of the Lord's Supper in the Scottish church was that they actually sat at the table. The Communion "table" was just that, and could accommodate a considerable number at one time. It was considered that they were thus celebrating in the exact manner of the New Testament. Rather than a priest at the altar, they preferred a company of people at a table. It has been suggested that in some churches worshippers may have taken their places at the table when they entered the

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[25]Cf. Maxwell. Outline of Christian Worship, pp. 120-122.

church and remained there throughout the service.[26]

Knox's strong feelings about kneeling at the Lord's Supper have been referred to. He has been regarded as a reactionary, both by contemporaries and biographers; and his outspoken manner, sometimes fairly rough and crude in expression, is well known. His personal opposition was probably nowhere as volatile as it was regarding this matter of kneeling. Precisely why this more than other aspect called forth his rage has never been explained to any satisfaction. He regarded the Mass as a public and private enemy, and perhaps kneeling was the outward act which he could attack.[27]

When he created a sensation by his violent objection in the pulpit of the Royal Chapel to a successive edition of the Prayer Book which prescribed kneeling, the response by Cranmer was that Knox's argument was quite absurd. He owned that it was unlikely that Christ and the disciples knelt, but that "if we follow the plain words of Scripture, we shall rather receive it lying down on the ground, as the custom of the world was almost everywhere and as the Tartars

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[26]William McMillan. The Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church, 1550-1638. London: James Clarke and Company, Ltd., 1931, p. 163.

[27]Cf. Percy. op. cit., pp. 110, 111.

and Turks use yet at this day."[28]

The point was disputed by bishops and debated at length. The Royal chaplains reported that the new book was "godly in respect of doctrinal truth" and "the character of its ceremonies in no wise repugnant to the wholesome liberty of the Gospel."[29] They added that kneeling had sprung from false opinions and permitted a continuing kind of idolatry. Ultimately there was a compromise and kneeling was retained, but the "Black Rubric" was added which explained that no adoration was intended by the act of kneeling.

Knox's efforts were successful during his lifetime, but King James felt as strongly about kneeling as Knox did about not kneeling and was determined to have Scots communicants on their knees to receive the elements. In the north it never had become an issue of particular significance, and by the early seventeenth century nearly all of Scotland had returned to kneeling as accepted practice.[30]

Cranmer, who argued the minor point of kneeling, basically assumed Knox's position, however, when he wrote, "What availeth it to take away beads, pardons, pilgrimages and such-like popery so long as the two chief roots remain

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[28]Quoted by Percy. ibid., p. 125.

[29]Loc. cit. [30]McMillan. op. cit., p. 178.

unpulled up? The roots of the weeds are the popish doctrine of transubstantiation and of the sacrifice and oblation made by the priest for the salvation of the quick and the dead."[31]

James Moffatt wrote concerning the worship which developed in the Reform:

> The reaction against liturgies was partly due to an honourable but exaggerated devotion to freedom and spirit in worship . . . and partly to the fact that the King (after Cromwell) sought to impose a new liturgy upon it, and thereby created a distaste for liturgies in general. It is a pity when minds work by re-action; in a church it may sound strong, mainly because it goes readily into strong words but it is a sign of weakness. Progress is not attained by recoiling as far as possible from what some other people hold, nor by discarding a practice incontinently because it is being used by contemporaries or because it has acquired some compromising associations. Unluckily, Presbyterians for a time parted with some precious elements in their heritage of worship.[32]

Knox believed that the "right ministration of the Sacrament" was one of the certain and true signs of the true Kirk.[33] One of his sermons which has been preserved is devoted in its entirety to the sacrament of the Holy Communion. Here his attitude is made unquestioningly clear. Following are excerpts from it:

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[31]Quoted by Percy. op. cit., p. 111.

[32]Quoted by Maxwell in Outline of Christian Worship, p. 132.

[33]George B. Burnet. The Holy Communion in the Church of Scotland. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1960, p. 8.

Who offereth this sacrifice, and what is offered? The Priest (sayeth the Papists) offereth Jesus Christ up to the Father. Then demand I if a man can offer God a more precious thing than himself . . . Jesus Christ, having nothing more precious than himself, did offer up himself . . . Jesus on the cross said: "consumatum est;" i.e., whatever is required for pacifying my Father's wrath justly moved against sin, whatever is necessary for the reconciliation of mankind to the favour of my eternal Father, and whatever the purgation of the sins of the whole world required, is now, complete and ended, so that no further sacrifice resteth for sin.

Hear, ye Papists! . . . How can ye deny the opinion of your Mass to be false and vain? Ye say it is a sacrifice for sin, but Jesus Christ and Paul say the only death of Christ was sufficient for sin.

Ye will say it is a memorial sacrifice, under the which Jesus Christ is offered unto the presence of God the Father by the Church, under the appearance of bread and wine, for remissions of sins. I answer with Paul, "He appeareth now in the presence of God for us." So that it is not requisite that any man offer or represent him to the Father, for that he doth himself, making continued intercession for us.

But let us consider the doctrine more deeply. The Church, say they, offered Jesus Christ unto God the Father for a memorial sacrifice . . . . Is there any oblivion or forgetfulness fallen on God . . . ? Hath he forgotten the death and passion of Jesus Christ so that he need be brought in memory thereof by any mortal man? . . . .

Let no man intend to excuse the Mass with the pretext of the Lord's Supper. For now will I prove that therewith it hath no congruence, . . . hath taken the remembrance of the same out of mind. And, farther, it is blasphemous to the death of Jesus Christ. First they are contrary in institution, for the Lord's Supper was instituted to be a perpetual memory of those benefits which we have received by Jesus Christ and by his death.

But the Mass is instituted to be a sacrifice for the sins of the quick and the dead; for doing of the which sacrifice God is bound not only to remit our sins but also to give us whatever we will ask. And that shall

testify divers Masses celebrated for divers causes: some for peace in times of war; some for rain; some for fair weather, and (alas, my heart abhorreth such abomination) some for sickness of bestial . . . to the obtaining of such vain trifles direct . . . and so profane the sacrament of Christ's body and blood which should never be used but in memory of Christ's death. Then should it not be used to pray that the toothache be taken away . . . that our oxen should not take the lowing ill, our horse the spavin or farcy . . . . Yea, what was it wherefor ye would not say the Mass, perverted priests?

In the Supper of the Lord all were equally participant . . . . In the Papistical Mass the congregation getteth nothing except the beholding of your duckings, noddings, crossing, turning, uplifting, which all are nothing but a diabolical profanation. Now, duck, cross, and nod, as ye list, they are but your own inventions. And finally, brethren, ye get nothing, but gazed and beheld that one did eat and drink all.

Christ commandeth not that we should gaze upon it, bow, duck, and beck thereto, but that we should eat and drink thereof ourselves, and not that we should behold others do the same, unless that we would confess that the death of Jesus Christ to appertain nothing to us.

I will ye observe that, where I say there resteth no sacrifice nor yet is there any priests, I mean any priests having power to offer such oblations. Otherwise I know that all true Christians are kings and priests, and do daily offer unto God a sacrifice most acceptable: the mortification of their affections, as Paul commanded the Romans.[34]

## The Elements

There is no record of disagreement about the nature of the elements used. Unleavened bread was found in some parts of Scotland, their own shortbread in thin, flat cakes.

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[34]Quoted by Percy. op. cit., pp. 113-118.

The wine was claret, hock or port, red seeming to be "most suitable," and mixed with water. (Whisky was used for a time by Episcopalians during this period, and later in Scotland ale was sometimes employed.)[35]

The quantities of wine ordered through the years seemed to increase, and not necessarily because of the growth of the size of the congregations. The church in Edinburgh required ten and one-half gallons in 1574 and in 1578 twenty-six gallons; and in Glasgow in 1574 they received "a hogshead of good wine."[36] Twenty-three gallons were consumed in three services at Knox's church in 1560. Apparently prohibition had not yet asserted itself as a concomitant of Presbyterian manners and morals.

## Administration

The manner of administration of the Lord's Supper in the Book of Common Order follows this pattern:

> The warrant, from the eleventh chapter of I Corinthians, opens the service. The words are printed in full and are not from the Geneva version.
>
> The exhortation follows, which actually is an invitation to the Lord's Supper. It is much like that which appears in the Book of Geneva, but substitutes a few sentences of Calvin's by those from the Anglican Book of Common Prayer. The minister excommunicates all "blasphemers, idolators, murderers and adulterers" and

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[35] McMillan. op. cit., p. 199. [36] Loc. cit.

"all that be in envy or malice, all disobedient persons to Father or Mother, Princes or Magistrates, Pastors or Preachers, all thieves, and deceivers of their neighbours, and finally all such as live a life directly fighting against the will of God." But this does not exclude a penitent person, no matter how sinful. The invitatory part is more prominent than the prohibitive. The exhortation concludes with a Doxology, after which the minister comes down from the pulpit.

The minister then takes the bread and gives thanks for it. Sometimes the custom was for the minister to lay his hands on the elements, and sometimes to lift them up a little off the table before beginning the consecration prayer.

The Prayer of Thanksgiving follows. It is entirely eucharistic; thanks is given for our creation, redemption, and for the Table. This prayer also ends with a Doxology.

The Consecration Prayer which followed contains a commemoration of the original institution of the Sacrament, of the passion, death, resurrection and ascension of our Lord. This commemoration was included in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI, but was removed in the second, which represented more nearly the views of the Reformers. The prayer was offered while kneeling at the Table, which was acceptable despite all the negative aspects presented concerning kneeling at the Reception of the Elements.

After the Prayer of Thanksgiving the minister breaks the Bread and delivers it to the people, who distribute and divide it among themselves. The cup is given in the same manner, supposedly after all have been served with the bread.

During the distribution of the Elements a passage of Scripture is read which "sets forth" the death of Christ. This accords with the instruction in the Book of Discipline, and the choice of the reading is left to the minister. In Geneva, there was an alternative to the reading of Scripture, which was the singing of psalms. This custom appeared later in Scotland, but at a different part of the service.

After all have received, the Book of Common Order instructs the minister to give thanks. This prayer is

> brief and consists only of two sentences, one concerning God's goodness in bestowing such a gift and treasure, and the other a petition that the partakers may not forget the benefits they have received but may increase daily in true faith.
>
> The final rubric runs, "The action thus ended the people sing the 103rd psalm or some other of thanksgiving which ended one of the blessings before mentioned is recited, and so they rise from the table and depart.[37]

At the end of the order a short paragraph "to the Reader" renounces the error of the Papists and restores to the Sacrament its own substance, continuing that the substance of the bread and wine remains unchanged.

The order for the Lord's Supper comes at the end of the regular Sunday order of worship; thus the Lord's Prayer and Creed come at the end of the service rather than earlier as might be expected.

Only ministers could administer the Sacrament, and no one of the congregation could come to the table unless he had attended the preceding sermon. In St. Andrews the door was locked after the reading of the psalm so that no one could do otherwise.

The service was simple and straightforward, especially as compared to the elaborate occasions in the succeeding two centuries when the sacrament was nearly lost in torrents of oratory.[38]

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[37] Ibid., pp. 164-167. [38] Burnet. op. cit., p. 44.

Requirements for participation were demanding. Hearing the sermon first has been noted. Knox wrote in the First Book of Discipline: "We think that the administration of the Table ought never to be without that examination pass before, especially to those whose knowledge is suspect." A body of religious knowledge was required, particularly with reference to the Holy Communion, a safeguard against the ignorance with which the Mass frequently was received. Thus an educated ministry and laity were required, the ministers and heads of households being regarded as the key people in this policy.[39]

Fines were demanded for failure to present oneself for examination before Communion, and the service itself could be delayed until every communicant had been accepted. If any were below standard, an extra examination could be required.[40] Burnet quotes James MacGregor in his Old Scottish Communion Plate: "There could be no better proof of the determination of our forefathers to have done forever with the superstitions of Rome than their submission to the severe examination to which they were subjected not only in their life, but before each participation of the Sacrament."[41]

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[39] Loc. cit. [40] Ibid., p. 49.

[41] Loc. cit.

In the early days of the Reformation a few interesting practices from the Mass continued in the Reformed church. Sometimes it was the custom to place the cup on the Holy Table and for elders to fill them during the singing of the "Table Psalm." At Low Mass the empty chalice was laid on the altar and not filled with wine and water until the offertory.

During the Mass the priest ceremonially washed his hands in the "lavabo bowl" as he repeated the vulgate version of Psalm 36:6: "I will wash my hands among innocent men." In similar manner, on some Communion tables a small bowl and napkin were laid to wash the minister's hands before he served.

The priest consumed the elements left over after the Mass; this was done in the Reformed church by the minister and serving elders.

There is division as to whether the use of the Communion "token" was a Reformed substitute for the Roman "Medalli" issued to those attending Mass. A ticket, or token, was required for access to the Table, which was regarded in the Reform with reverence as the visible symbol of the convenant between the communicant and God.[42]

The service of the Holy Communion was more absorbing

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[42] Ibid., pp. 61, 62.

to Knox than it was to Calvin. The Scotsman considered the doctrine of the sacrament and the manner of receiving the elements to be an important measure of adherence to Protestant dogma. A matter of parallel concern was the preaching of "the Word," as the scriptures came to be known in this period. The adaptation of Calvinian rites in Scotland has been noted, but there was in the Scottish reform an apparent interest in creating as great a distance from Rome as possible in the least possible length of time.

As was true on the Continent, the rituals and forms of worship in Scottish Protestantism tended increasingly toward simplicity, but the church seemed to be in a greater hurry to establish itself as a separate entity, with marks of identification which would set it apart as Reformed. Such were the convictions of Knox, reflected in the action of the Reform movement in Scotland.

## CHAPTER VI

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

It was the purpose of the researcher at the outset to view and to clarify the meaning of current developments in the Christian Church in terms of the events of the Reformation century. Lord Eustace Percy, in his biography of John Knox, does more than recount the life and activities of the Scottish reformer; he expresses a philosophy of the history of ideas and movements which is refreshing and perceptive. In one passage he writes:

> Neither the past nor the present can be understood if we isolate it under a glass in a historical museum. In all ages men have been moved by certain ideas and desires. From time to time these ideas have come to a head in unrest and revolution. At such moments their leaders have sought to formulate their principles and their aims, but the resulting dogmas or programmes are only labels . . . . The idea is not the dogma, and those who confuse the two make madness of their fathers and nonsense of history.[1]

Slowly, sometimes reluctantly and painfully, the Christian Church in the twentieth century has begun a journey which has the potential to reunite a divided Christendom. This is beyond doubt a vain hope if one has in mind one grand universal organization in which there is no divergence, no variance in points of view. The desirability of such a superstructure would even be in question because

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[1]Percy. op. cit., p. 64.

it smacks of a static sterility that supposes to have achieved every answer to every question and has nowhere to go. In any case, unanimity has been quite unknown since Pentecost. But the senseless quarrels which have divided over the centuries, particularly during and since the Reformation, have created a shattered, splintered image confusing to Christians and non-Christians alike. This is particularly unsettling when one realizes that the divisions frequently occurred over issues which could easily have been avoided with the application of even a small degree of grace and tolerance.

It occurred to the writer that the extent of divergence between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism at the time of the Reformation may have been less than the chasm that has widened and deepened during the intervening centuries; and that the present search in non-Roman Christianity for "new" forms of worship, actually often a revival of primitive forms more expressive of "basic" Christianity, may well have placed the sixteenth and twentieth centuries in a somewhat similar ecclesiastical climate.

The search was made in a framework that was manageable, not attempting to cover a broad spectrum of Christian thought in one century, particularly the sixteenth. It was reduced to worship and then to one aspect of worship, the Holy Communion, since this was an area of very particular

concern to the Reformers; and the reduction continued to one line of development, the Reformed Churches in Switzerland, Scotland, and France. These three countries were chosen because they composed the geographic areas more directly under the teaching of John Calvin. Scotland's prime mover, of course, was John Knox, and it was necessary to deal with him individually; but the hand which was evident in the formation of Protestantism in Scotland was that of Calvin.

It is doubtless as obvious to the reader as it became to the researcher that there are virtually no significant areas of particular comparison between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries other than the outward conditions and atmosphere which obtain in any era of change and foment.

To make some general observations from a more or less psychological approach, a break is more painful, more complete, contains more personal and communal hard feeling than a move toward reunion. The latter holds far less threat; indeed, the oneness lends security, while the processes of division create defensiveness, sometimes anger, and it is never comfortable. (One is reminded, however, of the nineteenth century revivalists who pointed out to their hearers and adherents that there could be "no ease in Zion.")

The reformers were in the main loyal churchmen who

loved the church as they knew it; who were trained in varying degrees to serve the interests of the church; and who had no desire to separate themselves from the instrument which had perpetuated the Christian faith for fifteen hundred years. They did, however, deplore its condition: the secularism, greed, avarice, soiled politics, and malpractice which characterized the church in many places at that point in history. To the extent that the church is a human institution, it has never achieved perfection; but this was a particularly unfortunate period and those who viewed the scene with concern spoke against what they regarded as corruption and adherence to doctrine which was not in accord with the teaching of scripture. It could be said of each of them, however, that their desire was to restore, not to rend.

A mark of the extent of adherence by the Reform on the Continent to the traditional forms of Roman Catholicism is seen in Chapter IV. Calvin, under the direct influence of Bucer in Strasbourg (and more indirectly that of Diebold Schwarz, who remained under the papal umbrella), created a Eucharistic form which reflected his departure from the doctrine of transubstantiation, but the changes were sufficiently subtle and gradual that in the early development of the Reform one might imagaine a worshiper as at home in one as in the other. As the emphasis on preaching became

stronger and the insistence grew that there should be equal attention to both "Word" and "Sacrament," the Protestant liturgical forms naturally assumed individual characteristics that moved further and further away from the Mass. It was during the initial period that the Mass was familiar ground and represented history, tradition, and affection which were not easily pushed aside.

But the activist, revolutionary-prone, enthusiastic Knox presents a rather different picture than that of the thoughtful, probing, scholarly Calvin. Their differences were doubtless based as much on personality as on any other variation. However, added to the scene in Scotland was the quarrel with England and Anglicanism, a division more national and political than religious, as well as the issues being raised as to the conduct and doctrine of Catholic Church and clergy. Knox could find no middle ground, nor had he the capacities of diplomacy or moderation in any large measure. He was "on" or he was "off," for or against, He deeply admired Calvin and was profoundly impressed by the manner in which the Genevan church functioned, affecting every aspect of life. But this was not his manner, and perhaps what he had and what he gave was the requirement for Scotland in his time. Knox in his use of liturgy evidences kinship with Calvin in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper,

and there is clearly a direct line of development from the Strasbourg French service to the worship forms contained in the Book of Common Worship used in the early days of the Scottish reform.

It is the position, place, and centrality of the Eucharist in the Reformation that this study seeks to clarify, and thereby to indicate as well the atmosphere and attitudes engendered by the separation of the Protestant reform from Roman Catholicism.

William Palmer Ladd wrote, "Liturgical study ought to increase our tolerance and our courage . . . . It ought to give us a sense of great responsibility because . . . for good or for ill, we are ourselves today making history and customs which will outlast our own time and become traditions." He says, too, that history, with all of its value in making the existing situation understandable and viable and alive, should be a servant and not a master.[2]

Central to liturgical history is the consideration of the Eucharist. Dix considers it the pivotal and most important of all Christian "ritual patterns;" the others are directed towards and center upon the Eucharist, and their results are expressed in the eucharistic action.[3]

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[2]William Palmer Ladd. Prayer Book Interleaves. New York: Oxford University Press, 1942, pp. 2, 3.

[3]Dix. op. cit., p. ix.

Historically, the Reformed liturgy is based on this central service of the Church universal, and there is at work in the churches of that tradition a more or less unsung but ongoing movement to restore or preserve it, to maintain a Sunday service which is both Catholic and evangelical, and in scope and content is a Eucharist, whether the Lord's Supper is observed or not.[4]

One of the more immediate and singularly healthy results of the Reform was the Council of Trent (1546-1563) which was evidence of the desire of Catholicism to forestall any further schism. It was the first Roman Catholic attempt to codify doctrine and to present a positive statement of beliefs. Alexander Barclay quoted the following statement of Harnack, which appeared in the untranslated Dogemengeschichte (VII, p. 36):

> The dogmatic decrees of Trent are the shadow of the Reformation. That it was given to Catholicism to understand itself, to give expression to its dogmatic character, and thereby to rescue itself from the uncertainties of the Middle Ages, was a debt it owed to the Reformation.[5]

Thus the Reform contributed to the strengthening of the Roman Church even in the early days of the separation: perhaps a faint shadow of things to come when one would be-

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[4]Genevan Service Book, p. 39.

[5]Cf. Alexander Barclay. The Protestant Doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Glasgow: Jackson, Wylie and Company, 1929, p. 1.

gin to accept the other as Christian in both the doctrinal and historic sense, and perhaps neither one entirely heretic.

It is in the consideration of the Eucharist that the two still find themselves at odds, and it was this which was primarily at issue in the sixteenth century division. The hopeful prospects of a kind of unity which now seems to be within the realm of possibility may be strengthened if both Catholic and Protestant are able to hold the conviction expressed by Dix:

> In this period of the disintegration and attempted reconstruction of thought about our secular society, the individual's relation to society and his need for and securing of material things are the haunting problems of the age. There is a Christian pattern of a solution which is expressed for us and by us at the Eucharist. There the individual is perfectly integrated in society, for there the individual Christian only exists as a Christian individual inasmuch as he is fully exercising his own function in the Christian society.[6]

The reconstructed church may thus become vital to a reconstructed society.

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[6]Dix. op. cit., p. xviii.

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# APPENDIX

## THE LITURGY OF THE WORD

| Strasbourg German Service of 1537 | Strasbourg French Service of 1540 | Geneva Service of 1542 |
|---|---|---|
| Confession of sins | Confession of sins | Confession of sins |
| Scriptural words of pardon (I Timothy I) | Scriptural words of pardon | Prayer for pardon |
| Absolution | Absolution | |
| Psalm, hymn, or Kyries and Gloria | Metrical Decalogue sung with Kyrie after each Law | Metrical Psalm |
| Collect for Illumination | Collect for Illumination | Collect for Illumination |
| Metrical Psalm | | |
| Lection (Gospel) | Lection | Lection |

## THE LITURGY OF THE UPPER ROOM

| Strasbourg German Service of 1537 | Strasbourg French Service of 1540 | Geneva Service of 1542 |
|---|---|---|
| Collection of alms | Collection of alms | Collection of alms |
| Preparation of elements while Apostles' Creed is sung | | |
| Intercessions and Consecration Prayer | Intercessions | Intercessions |
| Lord's Prayer | Lord's Prayer in long paraphrase | Lord's Prayer in long paraphrase |
| | Preparation of elements while Apostles' Creed is sung | Preparation of elements while Apostles' Creed is sung |
| | Consecration Prayer | |
| | Lord's Prayer | |
| Exhortation | Words of Institution | Words of Institution |
| Words of Institution | Exhortation | Exhortation |
| | | Consecration Prayer |
| Fraction | Fraction | Fraction |
| Delivery | Delivery | Delivery |
| Communion, while psalm or hymn sung | Communion, while psalm sung | Communion, while psalm or scriptures read |
| Post-communion collect | Post-communion collect | Post-communion collect |
| | Nunc dimittis in metre | |
| Aaronic Blessing | Aaronic Blessing | Aaronic Blessing |
| Dismissal | | |

# CALVIN'S STRASBOURG LITURGY

## THE LITURGY OF THE CATECHUMENS

Scripture Sentences
Confession of Sins

My brethren, let each of you present himself before the face of the Lord, and confess his faults and sins, following my words in his heart.

O Lord God, eternal and almighty Father, we confess and acknowledge unfeignedly before thy holy majesty that we are poor sinners, conceived and born in iniquity and corruption, prone to do evil, incapable of any good, and that in our depravity we transgress thy holy commandments without end or ceasing: Wherefore we purchase for ourselves, through thy righteous judgment, our ruin and perdition. Nevertheless, O Lord, we are grieved that we have offended thee; and we condemn ourselves and our sins with true repentance, beseeching thy grace to relieve our distress. O God and Father most gracious and full of compassion, have mercy upon us in the name of thy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. And as thou dost blot out our sins and stains, magnify and increase in us day by day the grace of thy Holy Spirit: that as we acknowledge our unrighteousness with all our heart, we may be moved by that sorrow which shall bring forth true repentance in us, mortifying all our sins, and producing in us the fruits of righteousness and innocence which are pleasing unto thee; through the same Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Scripture words of Pardon
Absolution. The Minister delivers some word of Scripture to console the conscience; and then he pronounces the Absolution in this manner:

Let each of you truly acknowledge that he is a sinner, humbling himself before God, and believe that the heavenly Father wills to be gracious unto him in Jesus Christ.

To all those that repent in this wise, and look to Jesus Christ for their salvation, I declare that the absolution of sins is effected, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

Metrical Decalogue sung with Kyrie eleison after each Law. The Congregation sings the first table of the Commandments, after which the Minister says:

The Lord be with us. Let us pray to the Lord.

Heavenly Father, full of goodness and grace, as thou art pleased to declare thy holy will unto thy poor servants, and to instruct them in the righteousness of thy law, grant that it may also be inscribed and impressed upon our hearts in such wise, that in all our life we may endeavor to serve and obey none beside thee. Neither impute to us at all the transgressions which we have committed against thy law: that, perceiving thy manifold grace upon us in such abundance, we may have cause to praise and glorify thee through Jesus Christ thy Son, our Lord. Amen.

While the Congregation sings the rest of the Commandments, the Minister goes into the pulpit; and then he offers prayers of the type which follows.

Collect for Illumination

At the end of the Sermon, the Minister, having made exhortations to prayer, commences in this manner:

Almighty God, heavenly Father, thou has promised to grant our requests which we make unto thee in the name of thy well-beloved Son, Jesus Christ our Lord: by whose teaching and that of His apostles we have also been taught to gather together in His name, with the promise that He will be in the midst of us, and will be our intercessor with thee, to obtain all those things for which we agree to ask on earth.

First we have thy commandment to pray for those whom thou hast established over us as rulers and governors; and then, for all the needs of thy people, and indeed of all mankind. Wherefore, with trust in thy holy doctrine and promises, and now especially that we are gathered here before thy face and in the name of thy Son, our Lord Jesus, we do heartily beseech thee, our gracious God and Father, in the name of our only Saviour and Mediator, to grant us the free pardon of our [faults and] offenses through thine infinite mercy, and to draw and lift up our thoughts and desires unto thee in such wise that we may be able to call upon thee with all our heart, yea agreeably to thy good pleasure and only-reasonable will.

Wherefore we pray thee, O heavenly Father, for all princes and lords, thy servants, to whom thou hast intrusted the administration of thy justice, and especially for the magistrates of this city. May it please thee to impart to them thy Spirit, who alone is good and truly sovereign, and daily stablish them in the same, that with true faith they may acknowledge Jesus Christ, thy Son, our Lord, to be the King of kings and Lord of lords, as thou hast given Him all power in heaven and earth. May they seek to serve Him and to exalt His kingdom in their government, guiding and ruling their subjects, who are the work of thy hands and the sheep of Thy pasture, in accordance with thy good pleasure. So may all of us both here and throughout the earth, being kept in perfect peace and quietness, serve thee in all godliness and virtue, and being delivered and protected from the fear of our enemies, give praise unto thee all the days of our life.

We pray thee also, O faithful Father and Savior, for all those whom thou hast ordained pastors of thy faithful people, to whom thou hast entrusted the care of souls and the ministry of thy holy Gospel. Direct and guide them by thy Holy Spirit, that they may be found faithful and loyal ministers of thy glory, having but one goal: that all the poor, wandering, and lost sheep be gathered and restored to the Lord Jesus Christ, the Chief Shepherd and Prince of bishops, so that they may grow and increase in Him daily unto all righteousness and holiness. Wilt Thou, on the contrary, deliver all the churches from the mouth of ravening wolves and from all mercenaries who seek their own ambition or profit, but never the exaltation of thy holy name alone, nor the salvation of thy flock.

We pray thee now, O most gracious and merciful Father, for all men everywhere. If it is thy will to be acknowledged the Savior of the whole world, through the redemption wrought by thy Son Jesus Christ, grant that those who are still estranged from the knowledge of Him, being in the darkness and captivity of error and ignorance, may be brought by the illumination of thy Holy Spirit and the preaching of thy Gospel to the straight way of salvation which is to know thee, the only true God and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent. Grant that those whom thou hast already visited with thy grace and enlightened with the knowledge of thy Word, may grow in goodness day by day, enriched by thy spiritual blessings: so that altogether we may worship thee with one heart and one voice, giving

honor and reverence to thy [Son Jesus] Christ,* our Master, King, and Lawgiver.

Likewise, O God of all comfort, we commend unto thee all those whom thou dost visit and chasten with cross and tribulation, whether by poverty, prison, sickness, or banishment, or any other misery of the body or affliction of the spirit. Enable them to perceive and understand thy fatherly affection which doth chasten them unto thee with their whole hearts, and, having turned, receive full consolation and deliverance from every ill.

Finally, O God and Father, grant also to those who are gathered here in the name of thy Son Jesus, to hear His Word (and to keep His Holy Supper), that we may acknowledge truly, without hypocrisy, what perdition is ours by nature of the condemnation we deserve and heap upon ourselves from day to day by our unhappy and disordered life. Wherefore, seeing that there is nothing of good in us and that our flesh and blood cannot merit thy kingdom, may we yield ourselves completely, with all our love and steadfast faith, to thy dear Son, our Lord, the only Saviour and Redeemer, to the end that he, dwelling in us may mortify old Adam, renewing us for a better life, by which thy name, according as it is holy and worthy, may be exalted and glorified everywhere and in all places, and that we with all creatures may give thee true and perfect obedience, even as thine angels and heavenly messengers have no desire but to fulfill thy commandments. Thus may thy will be done without any contraction, and all men apply themselves to serve and please thee, renouncing their own will and all the desires of their flesh. In this manner mayest thou have lordship and dominion over us all, and may we learn more and more each day to submit and subject ourselves to thy majesty in such wise mayest thou be King and Ruler over all the earth, guiding thy people by the sceptre of thy Word and the power of thy Spirit, confounding thine enemies by the might of thy strength and righteousness. And thus may every power and principality which stands against thy glory be destroyed, and abolished day by day till the fulfillment of thy kingdom be manifest, when thou shalt appear in judgment.

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*Section beginning here and ending at superscription ** used only at the service celebrating the Lord's Supper.

Grant that we who walk in the love and fear of thy name may be nourished by thy goodness; and supply us with all things necessary and expedient to eat our bread in peace. Then, seeing that thou carest for us, we may better acknowledge thee as our Father and await all good gifts from thy hand, withdrawing our trust fromall creatures, and place it entirely in thee and thy goodness.

And since in this mortal life we are poor sinners, so full of wickedness that we fail continually and stray from the right way, may it please thee to pardon our faults by which we are beholden to thy judgment; and through thy remission** deliver us from the obligation of eternal death in which we stand. Be pleased, therefore, to turn aside thy wrath from us, neither impute to us the iniquity which is in us; even as we, by reason of thy commandment, forget the injury done to us, and instead of seeking vengeance, solicit the good for our enemies.

Finally, may it please thee to sustain us by thy power for the time to come, that we may not stumble because of the weakness of our flesh. And especially as we ourselves are so frail that we are not able to stand fast for a single moment, while, on the other hand, we are continually beset and assailed by so many enemies--the devil, the world, sin, and our own flesh never ceasing to make war upon us--wilt thou strengthen us by thy Holy Spirit and arm us with thy grace, that we may be able to resist all temptations firmly, and persevere in this spiritual battle until we shall attain fully victory, to triumph at last in thy kingdom with our Captain and Protector, Jesus Christ our Lord.

Lection (or Lesson)
Sermon

THE LITURGY OF THE UPPER ROOM (or LITURGY OF THE FAITHFUL)

Collection of Alms
Intercessions
Lord's Prayer in long paraphrase
Preparation of Elements, while
Apostles' Creed is sung

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**End of section used only at the Lord's Supper.

Preparation of the elements
Consecration prayer

Inasmuch as we have made confession of our faith to testify that we are children of God, hoping therefore that He will take heed of us as a gracious Father, let us pray to Him, saying:

Heavenly Father, full of all goodness and mercy, as our Lord Jesus Christ has not only offered His body and blood once on the Cross for the remission of our sins, but also desires to impart them to us as our nourishment unto everlasting life, we beseech thee to grant us this grace: that we may receive at His hands such a great gift and benefit with true sincerity of heart and with ardent zeal. In steadfast faith may we receive His body and blood, yea Christ Himself entire, who, being true God and true man, is verily the holy bread of heaven which gives us life. So may we live no longer in ourselves, after our nature which is entirely corrupt and vicious, but may He live in us and lead us to the life that is holy, blessed and everlasting: whereby we may truly become partakers of the new and eternal testament, the covenant of grace, assured that it is thy good pleasure to be our gracious Father forever, never reckoning our faults against us, and to provide for us, as thy well-beloved children and heirs, all our needs both of soul and body. Thus may we render praise and thanks unto thee without ceasing, and magnify thy name in word and deed.

Grant us, therefore, O heavenly Father, so to celebrate this day the blessed memorial and remembrance of thy dear Son, to exercise ourselves in the same, and to proclaim the benefit of His death, that, receiving new growth and strength in faith and in all things good, we may with so much greater confidence proclaim thee our Father and glory in thee; through the same Jesus Christ, thy Son, our Lord, in whose name we pray unto thee, as He hath taught us.

Lord's Prayer
Words of Institution

Let us hear how Jesus Christ instituted His holy Supper for us, as St. Paul relates it in the eleventh chapter of First Corinthians:

I have received of the Lord, he says, that which I have delivered unto you: That the Lord Jesus, on the night

in which He was betrayed, took bread: And when He had given thanks, He brake it and said, Take, eat, this is my body which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner, when He had supped, He took the cup saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood: this do ye, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me. For as often as yet eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do proclaim the Lord's death till He come. Therefore, whosoever shall eat this bread and drink of this cup unworthily shall be guilty of the blood and body of the Lord. But let a man examine himself and so let him eat of this bread and drink of this cup. For whosoever eateth and drinketh unworthily, taketh his own condemnation, not discerning the Lord's body.

We have heard, my brethren, how our Lord observed His Supper with His disciples, from which we learn that strangers and those who do not belong to the company of His faithful people must not be admitted. Therefore, following that precept, in the name and by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, we excommunicate all idolaters, blasphemers, and despisers of God, all heretics and those who create sects in order to break the unity of the Church, all perjurers, all who rebel against father or mother or superior, all who promote sedition or mutiny; brutal and disorderly persons, adulterers, lewd and lustful men, thieves, ravishers, greedy and grasping people, drunkards, gluttons, and all those who lead a scandalous and dissolute life, I warn them to escape from this Holy Table, lest they defile and contaminate the holy food which our Lord Jesus Christ gives to those people that belong to His house and faith.

Moreover, in accordance with the exhortation of St. Paul, let every man examine and approve his own conscience to see whether he truly repents all his faults and grieves over his sins desiring to live henceforth a holy life according to God. Above all, let him see whether he has his trust in the mercy of God and seeks his salvation wholly in Jesus Christ and, renouncing all hatred and rancor, has higher resolve and courage to live in peace and brotherly love with his neighbors.

If we have this witness in our hearts before God, never doubt that He claims us as His children, and that the Lord Jesus addresses His Word to us, to invite us to His Table and to give us this holy sacrament which He imparted to His disciples.

And yet, we may be conscious of much frailty and misery in ourselves, such that we do not have perfect faith but are inclined toward defiance and unbelief, or that we do not devote ourselves wholly to the service of God and with such zeal as we ought, but have to fight daily against the lusts of our flesh. Nevertheless, since our Lord has granted us the grace of having His Gospel graven on our hearts, so that we may withstand all unbelief, and which give us the desire and longing to renounce our own wishes, that we may follow His righteousness and His holy commandments: let us be assured that the sins and imperfections which remain in us will not prevent Him from receiving us and making us worthy partakers of this spiritual Table. For we do not come here to testify that we are perfect or righteous in ourselves: On the contrary, by seeking our life in Jesus Christ we confess that we are in death. Know therefore, that this Sacrament is a medicine for the poor sick soul, and that the only worthiness which our Lord requires of us is to know ourselves sufficiently to deplore our sins, and to find all our pleasure, joy and satisfaction in Him alone.

Above all, therefore, let us believe those promises which Jesus Christ, who is the unfailing truth, has spoken with His own lips: He is truly willing to make us partakers of His body and blood, in order that we may possess him wholly and in such wise that He may live in us and we in Him. And though we see the bread and wine, we must not doubt that He accomplishes spiritually in our souls all that He shows us outwardly by these visible signs, namely, that He is the bread of heaven to feed and nourish us unto eternal life. So, let us never be unmindful of the infinite goodness of our Savior who spreads out His riches and blessings on this table, to impart them to us. For in giving Himself to us, He makes a testimony to us that all that He has is ours. Therefore, let us receive this Sacrament as a pledge that the virtue of His death and passion is imputed to us for righteousness, even as though we had suffered them in our own person. May we never be so perverse as to draw away when Jesus Christ invites us gently by His Word. By accepting the worthiness of this precious gift which He gives, let us present ourselves to Him with ardent zeal, that He may make us capable of receiving it.

To do so, let us lift our spirits and hearts on high where Jesus Christ is in the glory of his Father, whence we expect Him at our redemption. Let us not be fascinated by these earthly and corruptable elements which we see

with our eyes and touch with our hands, seeking Him there as though He were enclosed in the bread or wine. Then only shall our souls be disposed to be nourished and vivified by His sustenance when they are lifted up above all earthly things attaining even to heaven, and entering the Kingdom of God where He dwells. Therefore let us be content to have the bread and wine as signs and witnesses, seeking the truth spiritually where the Word of God promises that we find it.

Exhortation
Fraction
Delivery
Communion while Psalm is sung
Post-communion collect

Heavenly Father, we offer thee eternal praise and thanks that thou hast granted so great a benefit to us poor sinners, having drawn us into the Communion of thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, whom thou hast delivered to death for us, and whom thou givest us as the meat and drink of life eternal. Now grant us this other benefit: that thou wilt never allow us to forget these things; but having them imprinted on our hearts, may we grow and increase daily in the faith which is at work in every good deed. Thus may we order and pursue all our life to the exaltation of thy glory and the edification of our neighbor; through the same Jesus Christ, thy Son, who in the unity of the Holy Spirit liveth and reigneth with thee, O God, forever. Amen.

Nunc dimittis, in metre
Aaronic Blessing